CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

GREEK EPITAPHIC POETRY

A SELECTION

EDITED BY RICHARD HUNTER

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

GREEK EPITAPHIC POETRY

A SELECTION

EDITED BY
RICHARD HUNTER
University of Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108843980
DOI: 10.1017/9781108921336

First published 2022

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
NAMES: Hunter, R. L. (Richard L.), editor.
TITLE: Greek epitaphic poetry : a selection / edited by Richard Hunter, Regius Professor of Greek Emeritus, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
DESCRIPTION: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Series: Cambridge Greek and Latin classics | Includes bibliographical references and index.
IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2021036118 (print) | LCCN 2021036119 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108843980 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108926041 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108921336 (ebook)
SUBJECTS: LCSH: Epitaphs – Greece. | Greek poetry. | Epitaphs – Greece – History and criticism. | Greek poetry – History and criticism. | LCGFT: Epitaphs. | Poetry. | Literary criticism.
CLASSIFICATION: LCC CN375.E6 G74 2022 (print) | LCC CN375.E6 (ebook) | DDC 881.008/03548–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021036118
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021036119

ISBN 978-1-108-84398-0 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-108-92604-1 Paperback

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to various seminar audiences for their helpful and critical responses to the presentation of some of the material in this book. Rebecca Laemmle's comments and suggestions greatly improved the final product.

Work on this project has taken me well out of my usual comfort zone, and I have come to realise (once again) just how fortunate I am to be able to work amidst the riches of the Classics Faculty Library in Cambridge; I would like to offer my warmest thanks to the Library staff for all their help and indulgence over several decades.

When this book was all but complete, Neil Hopkinson, one of my colleagues both in Trinity College and on the editorial board of Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, died very suddenly. The terrible shock and distress at his death all over the world of Classics was the clearest mark of the respect and affection in which he was held. Neil had read and commented upon virtually the whole typescript of an earlier version of this book; he was an exacting critic with a remarkable knowledge of Greek, and his characteristically brief and pointed annotations often made me ask new questions and wonder whether I had really got things right. This book is dedicated to his memory.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

References in the commentary to the cumulative line-numbering of this edition are given in italics, e.g., 'see *451*n.'; references not in italics (e.g. 'cf. 5n.') are to line-numbers of the poem under discussion. Unless stated otherwise, references to fragments of tragedy follow *TrGF*, to fragments of comedy *PCG*, to Hesiod Merkelbach–West, to Sappho and Alcaeus Voigt, to early elegy and iambus *IEG*, and to Callimachus Pfeiffer. Standard abbreviations for collections and editions of texts and for works of reference are used, but the following may be noted:

Beekes	R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden 2010
Bernand	E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris 1969
CA	J. U. Powell ed., *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford 1925
CEG	P. A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca*, 2 vols., Berlin 1983, 1989
CGCG	E. van Emde Boas, A. Rijksbaron, L. Huitink and M. de Bakker, *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, Cambridge 2019
CII	*Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*, London 2012
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863–
CLE	F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina epigraphica*, Leipzig 1897
DGE	F. R. Adrados et al., *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Madrid 1980–
DNO	S. Kansteiner, K. Hallof, L. Lehmann, B. Seidensticker and J. Stemmer eds., *Der neue Overbeck*, Berlin 2014
EG	G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin 1878
EKM	L. Gounaropoulou, P. Paschidis and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφὲς Κάτω Μακεδονίας*, Athens 2015
FGE	D. L. Page ed., *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923–1930, Leiden 1940–1958
GDRK	E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1963–1964
GP	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*, Vols. I–II, Cambridge 1968
GP^2	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1954

GVI	W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, Vol. I, Berlin 1955
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965
ICos	M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Rome 2007
IEG	M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantata*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1971, 1992
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–
IGUR	L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Rome 1968–1990
IK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn 1972–
K–B	R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Vol. I, 3rd ed., revised by F. Blass, Hannover 1890–1892
K–G	R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Vol. II, 3rd ed., revised by B. Gerth, Hannover/Leipzig 1898–1904
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961
LfgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen 1979–2010
LGPN	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987–
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zurich 1981–1999
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968
PA	J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin 1901–1903
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci*, Berlin 1983–2001
Pfuhl–Möbius	E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, Mainz 1977–1979
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll et al. eds., *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart/Munich 1893–1978
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–
SGO	R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Munich 1998–2004
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin/New York 1983
Smyth	H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge MA 1920
TAM	*Tituli Asiae minoris*, Vienna 1920–1989
TrGF	R. Kannicht, B. Snell and S. Radt, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, Göttingen 1971–2004

MAPS



Map 1. Map of mainland Greece and the Aegean showing the location of inscriptions


THRACE
Kalchedon
Propontis
Thasos
Samothrace
Kyzikos
Kios
Imbros
Troy
Lemnos
MYSIA
Aegean Sea
Lesbos
Mytilene
Sardis
Chios
Smyrna
LYDIA
Erythrai
Teos
Klaros
Ephesos
Andros
Samos
Laodikeia
Tenos
Amyzon
Miletos
Paros
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Kaunos
Cos
Knidos
Melos
Thera
Astypalaia
Rhodes
Lindos
Knossos
CRETE

Map 1. (*cont.*)



Map 2. Map of the Mediterranean and Black Sea showing the location of inscriptions


Chersonesos
BLACK SEA
Heraclea
Pontica
Kalchedon
Kios
Imbros
Kyzikos
Pelion
Sardis
Chios
Smyrna
Akraiphia
Teos
Eretria
Laodikeia
Klaros
Ephesos
Paros
Miletos
Amyzon
Cos
Kaunos
Olympos
Melos
Knidos
Astypalaia
Thera
Knossos
Cyprus
Byblos
N SEA
Alexandria
Naucratis
Karanis
Heracleopolis Magna
Oxyrhynchus
Antinoupolis
Hermopolis
Magna
Koptos
RED
SEA

Map 2. (*cont.*)

INTRODUCTION

1 FUNERARY VERSE-INSCRIPTIONS

This is an anthology of private funerary poems in Greek from the archaic period until later antiquity.[1] The vast majority of these poems were inscribed on tombs or grave *stēlai* and served to identify, celebrate and mourn the dead. It is not in fact very difficult to distinguish such 'funerary' poems from other types of inscription, even if there are important overlaps in style and subject between, say, some honorific and some epitaphic verse-inscriptions;[2] what can be much more difficult, however, is to distinguish 'public' from 'private' inscriptions, and indeed to decide what, if anything, is at stake in the distinction and how that distinction changed over time.[3]

Our earliest verse epitaphs seem to be 'private', in the sense that, as far as we can tell, they were designed and erected by the family of the deceased. For the fifth century, however, our evidence is predominantly Attic, and, from the first three-quarters of the century in particular, we have very few clearly 'private' such inscriptions, as opposed to those either sponsored or displayed (or both) by public authorities; this was the age of public burials and public commemorations in πολυανδρεῖα or 'multiple tombs', which (quite literally) embodied the spirit of public service demanded of male citizens.[4] 'Private' poems too, of course, reflected the ideology of the city in which they were displayed, and we must not assume that a 'public–private' distinction mapped exactly on to some ancient equivalent of a modern 'official–unofficial' one. 'Private' inscriptions, for example, might need 'public' blessing to be erected in a particularly prominent place or even to use a particular language of praise. What is,

[1] Poems that are certainly Christian have been excluded, although the ways in which Christian epitaphs take over traditional modes is a subject of great importance in later antiquity; the principal reason for the exclusion was to allow as many non-Christian poems as possible to be included, within the space limitations imposed by the series.

[2] Throughout I refer to the poems included in this book both as 'poems' and as 'epigrams'; on the ancient use of the term ἐπίγραμμα cf. e.g. Bruss 2005: 1–10, Citroni 2019.

[3] Cf. Woodhead 1959: 36–7; for the distinction in broader terms cf. e.g. Humphreys 1993: chaps. 1–2 and, with respect to death ritual, Turner 2016: 145–7. For an example of a poem which might be described as both public and private cf. e.g. XII.

[4] For epigrams connected with public *polyandreia* cf. e.g. Lausberg 1982: 126–36, Bing 2017: 108–11.

however, clearly visible already in the fourth century, where the bulk of the evidence comes again from Attica, and becomes ever more obvious in the Hellenistic period (where the evidence is primarily from outside Attica), is the development of a poetic language for what are indeed (to all intents and purposes) private tomb-inscriptions celebrating the virtues of the deceased as a loved member of a family, rather than as a citizen or wife of a citizen; such private inscriptions, nevertheless, continued to reflect public ideology, just as do the 'private' inscriptions in any modern graveyard or the memorial tablets displayed in churches.[5] One of the reasons why tomb-inscriptions of the Hellenistic and imperial periods have in the past attracted the attention of scholars other than epigraphists has indeed been as an important and illuminating source of 'private' ethical and familial virtues which were communally approved.

There is, however, an important caveat to be entered. Verse-inscriptions form a small minority of extant epitaphs; the vast majority are in prose, or simply record the name of the deceased or, at most, add a phrase such as μνήμης χάριν.[6] It is a reasonable assumption that, in the archaic and classical periods in particular, the use of verse for private epitaphs was itself a claim to social or elite status.[7] As antiquity progressed, however, the range of people from different socio-economic levels who marked death with verse-inscriptions seems to have gradually widened, as also did the social range of those commemorated; this will no doubt be connected with the spread of literacy and education, but it is also easy enough to imagine a 'trickle-down' of the use of verse, promoted by imitation of elite practice. Nevertheless, verse always remained a minority option, even when those exercising that option seem to have come from relatively humble parts of society, and that must be borne in mind in assessing the attitudes and virtues which verse-inscriptions promulgate.

The earliest surviving epitaphic poems are in hexameters, as also are virtually all early dedicatory verses; these were joined in the later archaic period, roughly from the mid sixth century, by poems in elegiac couplets,

[5] Cf. further below, pp. 20–1.

[6] Estimates of numbers vary considerably; there are perhaps some 5,000 verse inscriptions (in all states of preservation) and these are perhaps at most 10 per cent of the epitaphic corpus; the figure for fourth-century Athens has been calculated at some 4 per cent. For discussion and bibliography cf. e.g. Bing–Bruss 2007: 2–3, Wypustek 2013: 1; some thirty years ago Morris 1992: 138 n.7, 156, estimated that there were 10,000 epitaphs from classical Attica alone. On early inscriptions just giving the name of the deceased cf. e.g. Häusle 1979, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 160–8.

[7] Nielsen et al. 1989 argue that, in the fourth century BC, Athenian citizens and non-citizens of all social classes erected tombstones; their discussion does not, however, consider the use of verse.

which in the course of the fifth century became, and remained for the rest of antiquity, the epitaphic metre *par excellence*.[8] Poems in iambic trimeters are found relatively early and persist throughout antiquity, but seem always to have formed only a very small fraction of epitaphic compositions.[9] There has been much discussion as to how the extension over time of subject-matter, emotional range and voice in epitaphs is to be linked to the gradual dominance of the elegiac couplet which, from the earliest period, seems to have been open to more personal and empathetic expressions than the more 'factual' hexameter, though, unsurprisingly, this is more a matter of nuance than of stark difference.[10] By the time we reach the Hellenistic and imperial periods, in any case, there appears to be no persistent difference of emotional mode between hexameter and elegiac epitaphs.

Throughout Greek antiquity, the use of verse may of itself have been a claim to social status and *paideia*, but striking formal differences occur between, on one hand, the 'literate' epigrams of the Hellenistic and imperial periods, roughly speaking the epigrams gathered in *HE*, *GP* and similar collections, and many inscribed poems from the fourth century BC onwards, on the other.[11] The differences include such things as the length of poems: 'literary poets', or at least their anthologisers such as Meleager and Philip, seem on the whole to have preferred one to four couplets as

[8] The fullest study of the metre and prosody of inscribed epigrams remains Allen 1888; it is in serious need of replacement. For fourth-century Attica see also Tsagalis 2008: 285–302; on metrical practice in the hexameters of fourth-century BC and Hellenistic inscribed epigrams cf. Fantuzzi–Sens 2006 and, for the imperial period, Calderón Dorda 2009. Lightfoot 2007: 154–62 offers an analysis of a partly comparable body of material, namely oracular verse. The commentary draws attention to any noteworthy features in the prosodic or metrical practice of this collection.

[9] Cf. Allen 1888: 65–6, Wallace 1984: 308–10, Kantzios 2005: 132–42. Our corpus offers a sprinkling of poems in other metres: for trochaic tetrameters cf. LVI, *GVI* 588 (imperial Athens), *SEG* 28.437 = Cairon 2009: 141–6, *SGO* 05/01/48, Allen 1888: 66–7; for sotadeans, XLIII.

[10] Bowra 1938, esp. pp. 177–81, has been influential here; cf. also, e.g., Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 71 on *CEG* 161. Bowie 2010: 319–24 is an important discussion, and cf. also Häusle 1979: 81–6, Wallace 1984, Day 2016. The subject has been brought into particular focus by *SEG* 41.540A (cf. 53.404), a public epitaph from Ambracia in five elegiac couplets dating from perhaps as early as the mid sixth century; cf. e.g. Faraone 2008: 132–6.

[11] The distinction drawn here between 'inscribed' and 'literary' poems is, of course, very rough and carries little explanatory force; other dichotomies, all equally rough, in use in the scholarly literature include 'inscriptions' vs 'book poems' and 'inscriptions' vs 'quasi-inscriptions'. For some guidance to this debate cf. e.g. Bing 2009: 203–16, Sens 2020: 3–5. On the very major distinction imposed by the anonymity of most grave-inscriptions cf. below, pp. 18–19.

being the generically marked length for epigrams,[12] whereas inscribed poems, particularly from the Hellenistic and imperial periods, may be very considerably longer.[13] So too, the sequencing of hexameters and pentameters in inscribed elegiac poems may show clear differences from literary texts; it is not uncommon in the classical period to find multiple hexameters before a pentameter (see e.g. XXXVIII, *CEG* 543) or even groups of consecutive pentameters (cf. *CEG* 171, 518, 524, 592).[14] The treatment in inscribed verses of hiatus, metrical lengthening and other prosodic features can be less regular and 'polished' than in 'literate' verse, and metrically 'faulty' verses, or even (particularly in later antiquity) sequences where it is not clear whether 'verse' was intended, are not rare (see e.g. XXXVIII, LXXX);[15] broadly speaking, the metrical practice of inscribed poetry can be seen to be looser and less regular than that of the 'literary' poets, particularly as the Hellenistic period witnessed a tendency in the composition of literary hexameters towards greater restrictions in the possible structures of the verse than earlier poets, most notably of course Homer, had allowed themselves.[16] 'Literate' epigrammatists, we may presume, consciously eliminated some of the 'rough edges' of inscriptional practice and adopted metrical and rhythmical 'regularity' as one of the ways in which they marked out a sophisticated poetic territory which (pro) claimed both descent and difference from a popular form; such a pattern, which constructs literary history within poetic composition itself, is very familiar from several other forms of post-classical poetry.[17] In these self-imposed restrictions, 'literate' poets were the heirs of archaic elegists, such as Mimnermus and Theognis, but they were also influenced (directly or indirectly) by the grammatical activities of scholars who concerned themselves with, and regularly sought to abolish, what appeared to be anomalies in the classical texts, notably Homer, which they studied. For many of the anonymous (to us) poets of inscribed verse, however, technical

[12] This generalisation requires considerable nuancing; many longer 'literary' poems survive, and Leonidas of Tarentum, for example, seems regularly to have exceeded these limits.

[13] In an imperial-age epitaph (of two couplets) from Lydia the dead man requests his children not to adorn his tomb μακροῖς ἐπέεσσιν ... ἐν δολιχοῖς ἐλέγοις (*SGO* 04/05/06, cf. Lausberg 1982: 71–2), and a declared preference for brief epigrams later becomes something of a topos; cf. e.g. Parmenion, *AP* 9.342, Kyrillos, *AP* 9.369. In the *Laws* Plato places a maximum length of four hexameters ('heroic verses') on inscribed 'encomia of the life of the deceased' (12.958e).

[14] Cf. e.g. Allen 1888: 42–3, Hunter 2019: 138–9.

[15] For later antiquity Agosti 2008 offers important general considerations.

[16] Cf. esp. Fantuzzi–Sens 2006. For a helpful account of the 'Callimachean' rules for the hexameter cf. Hopkinson 1984: 51–5.

[17] Cf. e.g. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: chap. 1, Sens 2007.

sophistication and consistency of practice were not principal aims of composition; as this collection will demonstrate, the range of poetic ambition on show in Greek inscribed verse is very wide indeed.

2 THE STYLE OF GREEK EPITAPHIC VERSE

The most significant influence throughout antiquity, taken as a whole, on the language of verse-inscriptions was the language of Homer;[18] as the vast majority of such poems are in hexameters or elegiac couplets, this is hardly surprising. What perhaps is more surprising is that this influence largely remained just that – an influence – rather than a dominant model which was followed everywhere. Although the surviving Greek funerary poetry of the high Roman empire and later antiquity, notably from Asia Minor and Rome, often reflects a fashion for extensive Homerising, and indeed for Homeric centos, in keeping with an important element of contemporary poetics,[19] for most of classical antiquity the language of verse-epitaphs is relatively spare and unadorned in general and wears its Homeric heritage very lightly; the mode is, on the whole, understated, and poems which seem to flaunt allusions to high classical texts are very much in the minority.[20] Down to (roughly) the end of the fifth century, composers of verse-inscriptions in linguistic areas outside the Ionic–Attic sphere naturally took over some elements of the inherited Ionic language of the poetic tradition, already adapted as this language was to dactylic verse, and fitted these elements to their own epichoric dialects; there were clearly differences from one area of the Greek mainland to another in the nature of the mixed linguistic form thus produced, and change happened at differing rates in different places, but there is no real evidence for any systematic attempt to make such poems sound notably archaic or epicising.[21] In this early period, in fact, we can see the gradual development of a mixed literary language, not strongly identified with any particular area, which would serve the epitaphic tradition throughout the Greek world for centuries to come.

[18] Cf. e.g. Di Tillio 1969, Häusle 1979: 79–81, Derderian 2001: 87–9, Tsagalis 2008: 262–8, Bing 2009: chap. 8, Hunter 2018: 4–24, and the papers in Durbec–Trabjer 2017.

[19] For illustrative examples cf. XLII, LXXI, *GVI* 1183 (Caria, AD 172).

[20] For an example cf. LXXVI.

[21] Cf. Mickey 1981, Cassio 2007, Kaczko 2009, Alonso Déniz and Nieto Izquierdo 2009, Guijarro Ruano 2018; Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948, however, give greater prominence to what they see as epicising expressions and local forms than does, e.g., Mickey. On epitaphs before the fifth century more generally see, e.g., Svenbro 1988, Ecker 1990, Derderian 2001: 63–102.

The influence of Homer on the post-classical epitaphic tradition is most visible in the adoption of morphological forms which entered the poetic bloodstream together with the epic hexameter (such as the genitive in -οιο), rather than in wholesale borrowing of Homeric phrases and sentiments. Allusion to specific Homeric passages and characters, notably Achilles, Odysseus and Penelope, certainly does occur (see e.g. V),[22] and the influence of some famous Homeric passages is palpable throughout antiquity. None probably was more important for the epitaphic tradition than a famous passage of Book 7 of the *Iliad* in which Hector prophesies that the Greeks will build a funeral mound (a σῆμα) by the broad Hellespont for the warrior whom he kills in the proposed duel between the two sides:

> καί ποτέ τις εἴπησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων,
> νηῒ πολυκλήϊδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·
> "ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
> ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ".
> ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται.
>
> Homer, *Iliad* 7.87–91

> One day someone of men born in the future will say, as he sails the wine-dark sea in his ship of many benches, 'This is the marker of a man who died long ago, who once, fighting valiantly, was killed by glorious Hector.' This is what someone will say, and my renown will never perish.

As has long been acknowledged, these epigram-like verses seem to reverse the epitaphic convention by which it is the renown of the dead which will never fade; here it is the renown of the victorious killer which shall be preserved. Moreover, the 'passer-by' of the later epitaphic tradition is here remarkably foreshadowed in the 'passing sailor' into whose mouth the epitaph is placed.[23] These verses were to prove extremely influential in the writing of 'real' Greek epitaphs; their influence can plausibly be traced as early as the sixth century BC (cf. IV, *CEG* 112).[24] Throughout antiquity,

[22] For the use of Homeric characters cf. LXXIV introductory n. and Hunter 2018: 7–8.

[23] Cf. below, p. 31 on Eur. *Alc.* 1000–5. Another Homeric character who was buried by the shore (*Od.* 11.74, 12.11) and is evoked in the subsequent epitaphic tradition is Elpenor, cf. XXXVIII, with *293*n. A related, but rather different, role for a tomb visible to sailors is found in *CEG* 162, an iambic epitaph from Thasos (c. 500 BC); the idea of a tomb on the shore or near the sea was to remain very powerful in later traditions, cf. Pearce 1983.

[24] Cf. further Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 11 on *CEG* 132, Svenbro 1988: 53, Hunter 2018: 17–18 (with further bibliography). These verses may also be seen as

moreover, poetic memory of certain famous, 'epitaphic' Homeric scenes (the two *nekuiai* of the *Odyssey*, the consolation of Achilles to Priam in *Iliad* 24, etc.) linger over and epicise the commemoration of the less heroic.

The language and themes of verse-epitaphs were not immune to broader developments in Greek poetry; thus, for example, an influence from the language of tragedy is observable in a number of fourth-century Attic poems, and some of the stylistic features which modern scholars associate with developments in the literary poetry of the third century are to be traced in contemporary inscriptions as well (see e.g. XV, LX). It is, however, to be noted that, although epitaphic poems commonly refer to or describe the γόος and θρῆνος of those left behind, the more heated rhetorical and stylistic mode of Greek lament, as that is known both from literary representations, notably in tragedy,[25] and from the historical record down to modern times,[26] is, at least until later antiquity, more often fleetingly suggested in inscriptions, for example by the repetition of an important word or idea (see e.g. *168*, *504*–*7*nn.), than fully evoked or imitated; the request to the living to cease from lamentation becomes in fact something of a generically marked feature of the funerary epigram,[27] which comes with particular force when expressed by a woman.[28]

The survival of some poems which clearly do more extensively imitate the manner of lament suggests that, here again, the restraint of the mainstream tradition is a deliberate stylistic choice, perhaps to be connected with the fact that, on the whole, funerary epigrams were productions of male society,[29] whereas lamentation for private griefs, though by no means restricted

one of the ancestors of epitaphic poems which greet sailors and are positioned to be seen by them; cf. e.g. *SGO* 17/12/01 (Megiste, late Hellenistic).

[25] An instructive example is Medea's 'lament' (in iambic trimeters) over her (still living) children at Eur. *Medea* 1024–37: both the motifs and the language evoke emotional female lament, but such a style is only found in extant epitaphic poetry long after the classical age. Cf. further below, pp. 28–9 on Soph. *Ant.* 806–16.

[26] Cf. Alexiou 2002.

[27] Cf. e.g. *GVI* 1584.10 (late Hellenistic Mysia), a rejection of θρῆνος ἀεικέλιος; the theme is very common, cf. *541*, *695*nn., Lattimore 1942: 217–18.

[28] *SGO* 01/20/24 (Miletus, probably second century BC) is an enlightening example: a dead woman begs her family to cease their mourning, after she has been told that her husband οὔποτε πλήσθη / θρήνων.

[29] It is at least suggestive that, in an elegiac (and presumably sympotic) poem, Archilochus urges τλημοσύνη and the rejection of γυναικεῖον πένθος in the face of the painful death of friends at sea (fr. 13 West, cf. Steiner 2012). So too, Achilles tells the grieving Priam that nothing comes of κρυερὸς γόος, for griefs are the universal lot of mortals (*Il.* 24.522–6). For the persistence of the theme cf. e.g. Seneca, *Ad Polybium* 6.2, 'What is so debasing and womanly (*muliebre*) as to give yourself over to be consumed by grief?'. This 'masculine' tradition of endurance in suffering and a 'middle way' in grief, neither 'unfeeling and savage' (ἄτεγκτον καὶ θηριῶδες)

to women, had always been particularly connected with the female world.[30] The Platonic Socrates contrasts the pleasure we feel at the lamentations of male heroes in epic or tragedy with the quiet endurance on which we pride ourselves when some grief afflicts our own lives; the latter we then regard as 'manly', the former 'womanly' (*Rep.* 10.605c9–e1).[31] Alongside this very broad distinction, however, must be placed the fact, which familiarity has made perhaps less surprising and less studied than it might be, that private funerary poetry for women is no less prominent at all periods, with the partial exception of fifth-century Athens (see above, p. 1), than it is for men. Hellenistic and imperial verse-inscriptions contain some of the most striking expressions of marital love to have survived from antiquity.

Perhaps the most notable linguistic feature of Greek verse-inscriptions of the classical and Hellenistic period is dialect. Epitaphic poems were, to put it simply, never strongly local in linguistic colour. Doric areas, unsurprisingly, tended to produce poems with standard Doric features, above all the retained long alpha, and the same will be true in some cases for poems in honour of Doric speakers who died outside a Doric region,[32] but in the

nor 'unrestrained and womanish' (ἐκλελυμένον καὶ γυναικοπρεπές, 102e), but now rewritten for the πεπαιδευμένοι of imperial Greece, is expressed throughout the Plutarchan *Consolation to Apollonius* (cf. esp. 102c–3a, 112f–13a). Plutarch's own *Consolation to his wife*, written after the death of their two-year-old daughter, commends her for not displaying the extremes of female grief; cf. also Seneca, *Ad Helviam* 16.1–2.

[30] Cf. Alexiou 2002: 108; the laments for Hector at the end of the *Iliad*, led by Andromache, Hecuba and Helen were a primary model for later literary lament. In this matter, we are of course dealing with a spectrum of possibilities, and an area where differences in judgement are almost inevitable; Rossi 1999 is an important discussion, and cf. Suter 2008 on male lamentation in tragedy. To what extent inscribed verse was intended to be spoken out loud and how practice might have changed over time are also crucial questions about which we know far too little and which cannot be discussed at length here. *CEG* 591 and *SGO* 01/12/23 are suggestive and relatively early (fourth century BC) examples of one end of the spectrum. In the former, the reference in the final two verses to γόος and θρῆνος acts almost as a self-conscious generic marker (cf. e.g. *GVI* 1263.7–8); in the latter, a third-person description of a mother's grieving leads into what is almost a 'citation' of her lament, αἰαῖ τοὺς ἀδίκως οἰχομένους ὑπὸ γῆν. For relatively extended descriptions of lamentation cf. e.g. *GVI* 1006 (Rheneia, late Hellenistic/early imperial), a mother στενάχησε … ὀλοφυρομένη / στερνοτύποις ἀνίαις ἄλυρον μέλος αἰάζουσα· / ἀντὶ γάμων οἰκτροὺς [ἔκλαγ]ε Μοῦσα γόους, *SGO* 01/20/32, 03/05/04.9–10 (Hunter 2019), 05/01/43. LXXIII (imperial Smyrna), which evokes the perpetually mourning Niobe, is an important later example; cf. Szempruch 2019. Meleager's famous epigrammatic lament for Heliodora (*AP* 7.476 = *HE* 4282–91) elaborates what are hints in the epitaphic tradition; Antipater Sid., *AP* 7.467 (= *HE* 532–9) is an elegiac version of female lament.

[31] Plato, *Rep.* 10.603e–4d is a very instructive account of one particular version of the 'male' response to grief.

[32] A clear case seems to be a Hellenistic poem for Epikrates found at Aphrodisias, cf. Chaniotis 2009.

period of the *koinē* there seems never to have been an attempt to create a particularly marked Doric language for verse-inscriptions, such as we find, for example, in the bucolic idylls of Theocritus. Even more striking is the persistent presence of Doric features, usually as a minority phenomenon, in poems from non-Doric areas, notably from the Aegean and from the coast of Asia Minor; dialect mixture, or perhaps rather non-uniformity, is common enough in Hellenistic verse-inscriptions almost to count as one of its generic features.[33] A similar linguistic mixture is, intriguingly, a familiar feature of Hellenistic literary epigram, and one which has been much studied in recent decades;[34] despite the considerable scholarly ingenuity which has been applied to the problem, however, it remains often very difficult to perceive the rationale for the choice of one dialect form over another in very many literary epigrams. Very much depends here upon the trustworthiness of our manuscripts, as alternative dialect forms are usually metrically equivalent and thus interchangeable. Some apparent questions of dialect 'mixture' may thus be created for us by scribes rather than by poets, although it is very unlikely that this explains (away) the phenomenon as a whole, and papyrus evidence suggests that dialect mixture within single poems was an available poetic resource from the earliest period. In the case of verse-inscriptions, appeal can be (and has been) made to the fact that a stonecutter might have spoken (and hence substituted) a different dialect from the one in which the poem he was inscribing was composed, but that too seems an impossibly fragile explanation for such a widespread and persistent pattern. The problem of dialect in verse-inscriptions cannot, in fact, be treated in isolation from two other related questions: who composed verse-inscriptions, and what explains the persistence of particular, almost formulaic, modes of expression across centuries and from very widely different parts of the Greek world?

3 WHO WROTE GREEK VERSE-INSCRIPTIONS?

In the absence of anything like clear evidence, scholars have normally had to construct the most plausible-seeming narrative for how the vast majority of funerary inscriptions came into being. A version of that narrative, which makes no real allowance for change over time, runs as follows. The family of the deceased, or perhaps the deceased him/herself before death, would approach a stonemason to purchase a *stēlē* or other form of tomb-marker;

[33] Cf. Threatte 1980: 131, Garulli 2012: 12. It must be stressed that much basic work remains to be done in mapping the dialect of verse-inscriptions from particular regions against the prose-inscriptions from the same area.

[34] Cf. e.g. Sens 2004, 2020: 9–10, Bowie 2016, Coughlan 2016, 2020.

arrangements for an inscription would be agreed at the same time. The text of the inscription might already have been agreed with the deceased before his/her death (or indeed the deceased might have composed the verses to be inscribed),[35] or would be composed by a member of the deceased's family, a bereaved parent or spouse, for example, or a friend of the deceased,[36] or the stonemason would either put the family in touch with a professional composer, perhaps a γραμματικός who composed verses 'on the side', or offer them 'ready-made' verse-patterns which could be easily adapted to individual circumstances. It is this last possibility that has always raised the issue of the existence of 'pattern-books', that is collections of adaptable verses (or whole poems) available for constant re-use;[37] the existence of such collections, whatever form they actually took, seems the most economical way to explain the remarkable similarities in some epitaphic verse, both across wide stretches of time and space in the Greek world and within smaller, well-defined areas and periods. Oral memory and transmission also may have been more important than we tend to imagine – very many epitaphs are short and simple enough to recall and pass on – but some form of textual preservation and transmission seems inevitable. The real evidence for such pattern-books is at best fragile, but the inferences to be drawn from similarities between some extant poems seem to offer few alternatives.

Even if the existence of collections of re-usable templates or collections of earlier poems seems the most economical way to account for some of the evidence, the 'sameness' of inscribed epitaphs should not be overstated. A quick glance, for example, at the many poems which begin with a request to the passer-by to stop and read the inscription (*GVI* 1302–29) will reveal that, however similar the opening verse or couplet, the poems then go their own, often very divergent, ways. Some inscriptional templates may have been little more than 'Look (δέρκεο), stranger, at this tomb …' (see

[35] Cf. *233*n. There are several surviving anecdotes about people composing their own epitaphs; cf. e.g. Lucian, *Demonax* 44, *Vita Homeri* 5.48–52 Allen (Homer had composed his own epitaph).

[36] An intriguing (and textually difficult) passage is Theocritus, *AP* 7.661.3–4 (= *HE* 3418–19), which proclaims that the dead man was buried by his ἑταῖροι and that χὐμνοθέτης αὐτοῖς δαιμονίως φίλος ἦν; it is hard not to understand that the 'poet' refers to the composer of verses on his tomb, whether that be this epigram itself or another on a tomb elsewhere.

[37] Cf. Lattimore 1942: 18–20, Tsagalis 2008: 52–6, Garulli 2012: 217, Barbantani 2019: 168–9, all citing earlier literature. Drew-Bear 1979 discusses an instructive corpus of eighteen closely related epitaphs, largely from various parts of Phrygia and covering some six centuries or more; cf. also Lougovaya 2011. Horsley 2000 is an account of what we can say about the very fragile grip of Greek versification and its transmission in Pisidia.

e.g. *GVI* 1253–83),[38] and such 'formulae' clearly did not demand the presence of written 'pattern-books' to be remembered and employed by local poets. A group of Attic poems probably all from the fourth century BC, for example, the majority no more than a couplet, contrast the body of the deceased buried in the tomb either with the fate of the ψυχή (*CEG* 593 iii) or with the ineradicable reputation for virtue which the deceased has left behind (*CEG* 479, 549, 551, 602, 611). The language seems stereotyped:

σῶμα μὲν ἐντὸς γῆ κατέχει, τὴν σωφροσύνην δέ,
  Χρυσάνθη, τὴν σὴν οὐ κατέκρυψε τάφος.
CEG 479

The earth holds your body within it, but your good sense, Chrysanthe, the tomb has not concealed.

σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔχει σόν, Δίφιλε, γαῖα θανόντος,
  μνῆμα δὲ σῆς ἔλιπες πᾶσι δικαιοσύνης.
CEG 549

The earth holds here your body in death, Diphilos, but you left everyone a memorial of your justice.

σῶμα σὸν ἐν κόλποις, Καλλιστοῖ, γαῖα καλύπτει,
  σῆς δ᾽ ἀρετῆς μνήμην σοῖσι φίλοις ἔλιπες.
CEG 551

The earth conceals your body, Kallisto, in her embrace, but you left your dear ones a memorial of your virtue.

σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι κατὰ χθὼν ἥδε καλ[ύπτει]
Τιμοκλείας, τὴν σὴν δ᾽ ἀρετὴν οὐθεὶς [φθ]ίσει α[ἰών]·
  [ἀθά]νατος μνήμη σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα.
CEG 611

The ground here conceals the body of Timocleia in her embrace, but no time will wither your virtue; immortal is the memorial for your good sense.

[38] An enlightening example is a very imperfectly metrical poem of the early fourth century AD from Hadrianouthera which begins δέρκεο δέρκεο ξεῖνε φίλε καὶ παροδεῖτα, / Νεικομάχοιο τάφον κτλ. (*SEG* 64.1216). Another example of such an opening 'formula' is seen in *SGO* 08/05/04 (Mysia) μὴ σπεύσῃς, παροδεῖτα, παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ προσέλθε and *GVI* 1305 (Kition in Cyprus) μὴ σπεύσῃς, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρελθέμεν, ἀλλά με κτλ.

We clearly are dealing with a very standard pattern, but whether or not that pattern needed to be enshrined in a book of possible 'models' may be doubted; the repetition of epitaphic patterns from poet to poet and from generation to generation will, very likely, have involved both oral and written transmission. Closely related linguistic structures recur later in poems from various parts of the Roman empire.[39]

More complex, and perhaps more interesting, cases are not hard to find. In a second-century AD poem from Beroia in Macedonia, the poet expostulates against the powers which have taken a dead girl away:

> τὴν περικαλλέα Παρθενόπην κλυτὸν εἶδος ἔχουσαν
>   δέξατο Φερσεφόνη χῶρον ἐς εὐσεβέων·
> ὦ Φθόνε καὶ Πλουτεῦ συλήσας χρύσεον ἄνθος
>   καὶ κείρας γονέων ἐλπίδας ἐσθλοτάτας
>
> *SEG* 38.590.1–4

> Persephone received the very beautiful Parthenope of renowned form into the dwelling of the blessed. O Malicious Jealousy and Plouteus [i.e. Hades] who have plundered the golden flower and cut short her parents' most glorious hopes …

In a poem of probably the same century from Thessalian Larisa, a version of vv. 2–4 is used in a poem for a man:

> Μνημόνις ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι νέκυς ὁ φίλοισιν ἄριστος
>   ὃν δέξατο Φερσεφόνη χῶρον εἰς εὐσεβέων
> ὦ Φθόνε καὶ Πλουτεῦ συλήσας χρύσεον ἄνθος
>   καὶ κείρας ἰδίων ἐλπίδας ἀθλοτάτας
>
> *SEG* 35.630[40]

> I Mnemonios lie here a corpse, most valued by my friends, whom Persephone received into the dwelling of the blessed. O Malicious Jealousy and Plouteus [i.e. Hades] who have plundered the golden flower and cut short the most wretched hopes of those close to him …

Traditional classical criticism might here diagnose in the Larisan poem a not particularly successful imitation of the poem from Beroia, its secondariness marked in various ways. The image of a 'golden flower' is applied less appropriately to a man than to a young woman, particularly

[39] Cf. e.g. *GVI* 1766, 1768, 1773–5.

[40] Various orthographic discrepancies are ignored here. Μνημόνις is here for Μνημόνιος, the deceased's name.

as the name Παρθενόπη resonates against that of the rhythmically identical Φερσεφόνη to suggest a sympathy between them (Persephone, whose principal cult name was Κόρη but who could also be designated Παρθένος,[41] was herself 'plucked' by Hades while picking flowers, just as he has now taken the 'golden flower' Parthenope);[42] the metre of vv. 1–2 of the Larisan poem is faulty, in v. 1 caused most probably by the adaptation of standard epitaphic phrases[43] and in v. 2 by the stitching of a ready-made verse into a different syntactic structure; the entirely general *ἰδίων* is substituted for the specific *γονέων* (Mnemonios' parents may no longer have been alive, cf. v.1), and the linguistic oddity of ἀθλοτάτας with, apparently, the meaning ἀθλιωτάτας, may have been designed to emphasise the misery of what has happened, whereas the hopes should in fact have been positively expressed, as in the poem from Beroia, if they are to be 'ravaged'. Much of this analysis may point to real features of the two poems, but the relationship between them is perhaps unlikely to be as simple as that of 'model' and 'copy', despite their relative closeness in time and geography. The poem from Beroia may, of course, have been anthologised and reached the Larisan poet, or both poems may depend on earlier 'models' which have been differently adapted by different poets and different workshops.

A second example will show that, although the term 'pattern' (as in 'pattern-book') can be helpful in pointing to repeatable forms within epitaphic verse, the sameness suggested by the term has wide parameters and points to complex possibilities of transmission, far removed from simple copying. *SGO* 08/08/10 is an epitaph for a thirteen-year-old boy from Hadrianoi in Mysia; the date is uncertain, but Merkelbach and Stauber very tentatively classify it as 'late Hellenistic/early Empire':[44]

> "τίς τίνος;" ἦν εἴρηι, Κλάδος οὔνομα· καὶ "τίς ὁ θρέψας;"
> Μηνόφιλος· "θνήισκω δ᾽ ἐκ τίνος;" ἐκ πυρετοῦ·
> "κἀπὸ πόσων ἐτέων;" τρισκαίδεκα· "ἆρα γ᾽ ἄμουσος;"
> οὐ τέλεον, Μούσαις δ᾽ οὐ μέγα φιλάμενος,

[41] Cf. e.g. Eur. *Helen* 1342.

[42] That sympathy recurs in the final verse of the poem where the dead girl almost takes Persephone's place, Παρθενόπην, Ἀΐδη, *νῦν σὺ μόνος κατέχεις*. For another poem which positions a dead woman as 'another Persephone' cf. LXXI.

[43] κεῖμαι *νέκυς* and κεῖμαι *νέκυς* ἐνθάδε are both found in other inscriptional verse of this period from Macedonia and northern Greece, cf. *EKM* 1 Beroia 398, *GVI* 1317, 1979.1, as well as other parts of the Greek world. For another Macedonian example of such phenomena cf. Hunter 2021.

[44] For discussion of *SGO* 08/08/10 see Hunter 2021.

ἔξοχα δ᾽ Ἑρμείαι μεμελημένος· ἐν γὰρ ἀγῶσιν
πολλάκις αἰνητὸν στέμμα πάλας ἔλαχον·
Ἀπφία ἡ θάψασα δ᾽ ἐμὴ τροφός, ἥ μοι ἔτευξεν
εἰκόνα καὶ τύμβωι σῆμ᾽ ἐπέθηκε τόδε.

SGO 08/08/10

If you ask 'Who are you and who is your father?', my name is Klados, and [if you ask] 'Who brought you up?', Menophilos. [If you ask] 'What was the cause of my death?', a fever. 'How old were you?', thirteen. 'Were you uneducated?'. Not entirely. I was not very dear to the Muses, but was a very special favourite of Hermes: in athletic contests I many times won the glorious wreath for wrestling. Apphia who buried me was my nurse, and she also had an image of me erected and placed this marker on the tomb.

A poem with several points of contact with *SGO* 08/08/10 is the following epitaph from imperial Paros:

"τίς τίνος ἔσσι, γύναι, καὶ πῶς θάνες; ἐν γὰρ ἀμοιβαῖς
μύθων κουφοτέρη ταὐτὰ παθοῦσι τύχη."
Τιμὼ Φίλτωνος, Μιμνὼ δέ μ᾽ ἐγείνατο μάτηρ
ἆι πένθος λείπω νούσωι ἀποφθιμένα.
"ἁλικίας δ᾽ ἔλαχες ποῖον μέτρον;" ἐνδεκάδος τρεῖς.
"ἀστὴ δ᾽ ἢ ξείνη;" Νάξος ἐμοί γε πάτρα.
"τίς δὲ τεὸς πόσις ἦν;" Δημήτριος. 'ἔσσι δ᾽ ἄπαις;' οὔ·
τρισσὰ γὰρ ἐν ζωᾶι τέκνα λέλοιπα πόσει.
"ὄλβιε μὲν τέκνοισιν, ἀνόλβιε δ᾽ ἀμφὶ συνεύνωι
ματρί τε σᾶι, Τιμώ, χαῖρε καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις."

SEG 64.758A

'Who are you and who is your father, lady, and how did you die? Exchange of talk makes chance easier to bear for those in the same circumstances.' Timo, daughter of Philton, and the mother who bore me was Mimno; I died from illness and leave her to grieve. 'What limit of age did you reach?' Thirty-three. 'Citizen or foreigner?' My home is Naxos. 'Who was your husband?' Demetrios. 'Are you childless?' No. I left my husband three living children. 'Blessed are you in your children, but unhappy for your husband and mother, Timo. Fare well even among the dead.'

The same basic structure and certain correspondences of motif and expression cannot conceal the fact that these two poems, one for a thirteen-year-old boy and the other for a mother of three children,[45] follow different paths. Both exploit the familiarity of dialogue between the deceased and a ‘passer-by’, but do so in very different ways. In the Mysian poem, the chatty deceased anticipates the (standard) questions a passer-by might ask, as though, despite his relative ἀμουσία, he was *au fait* with epigrams of this kind, thus also making that poem not in fact a real dialogue, whereas in the Parian poem, the passer-by encourages the deceased with a gnomic observation about the value of ‘exchange of talk’, an observation which clearly exploits, not perhaps without a certain poetic irony, the very familiarity of the form. The Mysian poem has long been associated with an epitaphic poem of Leonidas of Tarentum, which seems to have enjoyed a remarkable afterlife through inscribed poems apparently indebted, in various ways, to it:[46]

“τίς τίνος εὖσα, γύναι, Παρίην ὑπὸ κίονα κεῖσαι;”
  Πρηξὼ Καλλιτέλευς. “καὶ ποδαπή;” Σαμίη.
“τίς δέ σε καὶ κτερέϊξε;” Θεόκριτος, ὧι με γονῆες
  ἐξέδοσαν. “θνήισκεις δ’ ἐκ τίνος;” ἐκ τοκετοῦ.
“εὖσα πόσων ἐτέων;” δύο κεἴκοσιν. “ἦ ῥά γ’ ἄτεκνος;”
  οὔκ, ἀλλὰ τριετῆ Καλλιτέλην ἔλιπον.
“ζώοι σοι κεῖνός γε καὶ ἐς βαθὺ γῆρας ἵκοιτο.”
  καὶ σοί, ξεῖνε, πόροι πάντα Τύχη τὰ καλά.
  Leonidas of Tarentum, *AP* 7.163 (= *HE* 2395–2402)

‘Who are you, lady, who lies under the Parian pillar?’ Prexo, daughter of Kalliteles. ‘Where were you from?’ Samos. ‘Who buried you?’ Theokritos, to whom my parents gave me. ‘What was the cause of your death?’ Childbirth. ‘How old were you?’ Twenty-two. ‘Were you childless?’ No, I left behind three-year-old Kalliteles. ‘May he survive and reach a ripe old age.’ May Fortune be very kind to you too, stranger.

[45] *SEG* 64.758B, another poem for Timo, shows that she was in fact already a grandmother.

[46] Cf. Garulli 2012: 116–34, citing earlier bibliography. Garulli 2012: 132 notes that two of the poems she discusses seem to come from Paros and that ‘the Parian pillar’ in v. 1 of Leonidas’ poem might identify that poem too as set on Paros, unless the phrase simply means ‘the pillar made of Parian marble’; local poets may, of course, have seen the opportunity to exploit the ambiguity. The publication of *SEG* 64.758A (see p. 14), not discussed by Garulli, increases the likelihood that we are here dealing with a local variant of a much wider epigrammatic form.

Lines of descent do not run straight. Leonidas presumably reflects familiar epitaphic patterns, and his poem has in turn influenced the subsequent tradition, so that these inscribed poems, and others like them, draw both from him (though how directly we cannot say) and from traditions of inscribed verse, perhaps even collected in 'pattern-books'. What is clear, however, is the extraordinary variety, within familiar but flexible parameters, of the inscribed poems which survive; given the very haphazard nature of our evidence, we must be very cautious in drawing inferences from this, but modern conceptions of 'mass production' of 'banal' poetry at least seem very wide of the mark.[47]

A further problematic aspect of the question of how verse-inscriptions were created is how the stonecutter knew what to inscribe. There has been lively debate, first, as to the role of an intermediary between composer and stonecutter who might have marked the stone up ready for inscription, a process usually referred to by the Latin term *ordinatio*,[48] and, secondly, whether the stonecutter normally worked from a written text or from what would amount to oral dictation. How the stonecutter received his instructions may have affected the accuracy of the inscription and hence our readiness to accept corrections and emendations in surviving poems. Inscriptions do not necessarily give us the words of 'the poet': the poems themselves may have been changed in the course of the collaborative process which led from the aftermath of death to actual inscription, and in that sense it may be at least misleading always to think in terms of a 'single poet', whether or not working from pre-existing models. That mistakes were in fact made in the process of inscription is very clear from surviving texts, and there are also many instances where corrections have been made by the stonecutter himself, whether on his own initiative or because an error had been pointed out to him. On the other hand, very many obvious mistakes survive, even to the point where verses seem meaningless;[49] perhaps many, even fully literate, clients and families might have preferred to display a clean, but incorrect text, rather than going to the trouble (and perhaps expense)[50] of correction (never straightforward

[47] Whether epitaphic verse here shows a different pattern of production from that of the monuments themselves on which much of the verse was inscribed is a very important question, but beyond the scope of this book.

[48] Cf. Courtney 1995: 11–16. The matter, and what role it might have played in inscriptional errors, particularly caused by copying a minuscule text for a majuscule inscription, has been very much debated, cf. Robert 1969: 576–600, Garulli 2012: 212–19, 2014: 156–7. For one poet's worries about a careless stonecutter see Sidonius, *Epist.* 3.12.5.

[49] For an example cf. LXXVI.

[50] This aspect should perhaps not be exaggerated; the costs involved do not seem to have been prohibitive, cf. e.g. Nielsen et al. 1989: 414–15.

on stone or marble), which would result in a marred appearance for the stone. Nevertheless, in most cases the survival of the stones, even where they are worn or broken, does bring us much closer in time to the composition of the poems than is the case with most epigrams which survive in the *Palatine Anthology* or in quotation in other ancient texts, and it is reasonable to assume that inscribed texts have, on the whole, been exposed to fewer moments of copying, with the attendant dangers of error that copying brings, than were texts surviving in a manuscript tradition, even if greater attention to fidelity to the model and greater ease of correction are characteristic of the latter situation.

One important subject which follows from this is that of the emendation of securely attested (and not obviously impossible) readings on inscriptions, beyond the correction of what are obviously minor slips; decisions about the imposition of dialectal consistency form a small, but important, sub-group of such issues. Only an irrational excess of caution would ban emendation altogether, and the text printed in this volume accepts some suggested changes to inscribed texts, while the commentary expresses support for others.[51] It may be thought that the barrier for acceptance should be rather higher than in the case of texts preserved in a manuscript tradition, because of the nature of the inscribing process (see above), but both situations ultimately require us to exercise judgement. There are some obvious differences between the situations, however. With the exception of some familiar Homeric licences[52] and room for disagreement about the parameters of metrical freedom in lyric odes, an unmetrical verse in a 'literary' text will in a modern edition not escape emendation or a mark of corruption (the obelus), however perfect the sense it conveys. This is rightly not the case with inscriptions. To take a very simple and familiar case: in a probably early fourth-century BC couplet from the Piraeus, the dead woman is described in the 'pentameter' as

σώφρων καὶ χρηστὴ καὶ ἐργάτις πᾶσαν ἔχουσ᾽ ἀρετήν
CEG 491.2 = *GVI* 1490.2

chaste and worthy and hard-working with complete virtue.

[51] Hansen on *CEG* 525 moves too far in the direction of caution: 'sensum stilumque epigrammatum in lapidibus repertorum emendare non licet'. Rather different general considerations apply in the case of inscriptions where the original stone is lost and we rely on a transcript that can no longer be checked; *190* and *355* offer suggestive cases (see nn. ad loc.).

[52] It is noteworthy that the versification of oracular poetry, much of which survives to us in inscriptions, was subject to ancient censure on metrical grounds, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 396d.

The composer, perhaps at the request of the family, has adapted and expanded a standard verse to increase the catalogue of the woman's virtues, thus making the verse quite unmetrical. No one would, however, think of deleting καὶ ἐργάτις as an 'interpolation' to restore a regular pentameter; there is no reason to think that what is on the inscription is not what the person responsible for it wanted to be displayed and read. Inscriptions encourage us to create narratives about composition, and talk of 'last-minute changes' to poems is not in fact uncommon in modern scholarship;[53] we can hardly doubt that such things did indeed happen, but identifying them with any certainty is another matter altogether.

The vast majority of inscribed poems from the very earliest period onwards are not signed;[54] the lack of concern with authorship has always seemed to be a further crucial difference between such poems and 'literary' epigrams, which began to emerge in author-centered collections from at least the third century BC, if not in fact earlier.[55] This 'anonymity' is presumably in part a result of the process of composition (described above): poems were often, in one sense, purchased artefacts, and, so it is often held, writers of such verses were craftsmen doing a job, not 'poets', and would have felt no need or expectation to sign their work.[56] Moreover, the whole focus of such objects was on the deceased and his or her *kleos*; a named poet would merely detract from that concentration and the purpose of the inscription. No such generalised explanation will cover every case, but this account does find partial analogies in the funerary customs of more recent societies.

Nevertheless, the state of our evidence enjoins caution. In one of the very earliest references to a composer of funerary epigrams, Euripides'

[53] For a very interesting case where judgement about an unmetrical feature of an inscription is required cf. 233n.

[54] On the 'habit of anonymity' cf. e.g. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 288–9; for signed inscriptions cf. LXXVII and Santin 2009. The vast majority of literary funerary epigrams also of course do not reveal the name of the poet, but the collections in which they circulated ensured that the name was normally not concealed; *AP* 7.710 (= *HE* 1781–8), ascribed to Erinna, is a telling exception, as are the 'self-epitaphs' of poets such as Callimachus.

[55] Cf. Gutzwiller 1998, Krevans 2007, Sens 2020: 1–2. It seems likely that the majority of the inscribed poems in the earliest collections of which we know, with the exception of collections of poems ascribed to Simonides, were largely anonymous and did not make the journey into later anthologies; these will have included the Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά of Philochorus (late fourth–early third century BC) and the Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων of Polemon of Ilion (late third–early second century BC), nicknamed στηλοκόπας, '*stēlē*-glutton', cf. Ath. 6.234d, 10.442e, Petrovic 2013: 206–11. On the relation between inscribed and 'literary' epigram see further Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: chap. 7, Meyer 2005, Garulli 2012, Christian 2015.

[56] For some of the relevant issues cf. Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010b: 4–6.

Hecuba refers to a μουσοποιός who would compose an epitaph (ἐπίγραμμα) for inscription on Astyanax's tomb (*Trojan Women* 1188–91), and although she there wishes to lay particularly bitter stress upon the idea of poetic commemoration, it is clear that for her (and the audience?) such a composer would be a 'poet'.[57] A concern with the authorship of epigrams, traceable already in the figure of Simonides, around whose name epigrams concerned with the Persian Wars tended to cluster,[58] is first found in inscribed poetry itself in the fourth century,[59] and marks a shift of perception in the social and cultural status of epigrams; the now famous case of Posidippus, identified as ἐπιγραμματοποιός in an honorific inscription from central Greece of 263/2 BC (T3 A–B),[60] is the best known manifestation of that new perception.

What needs stressing, however, is that, for inscribed epigrams, 'anonymity' very often carried positive meaning; it was not a negative and downgrading absence. The most obvious case here is that of democratic Athens. Even what look like private poems express public, collaborative views and endorsements. A signature would be ruinous to this 'public' mode of declaration; funerary verse, even on behalf of a single individual or family, spoke for a whole community. Moreover, it is also worth noting that funerary verse, particularly of the Hellenistic and imperial periods, suggests that we would do well not to draw too strict and compulsory a link between advertised 'authorship' and literate (or sophisticated) technique or use modes of circulation (or merely the possibility of circulation) as a principal marker of difference between inscribed and 'literary' verse. Differences there are, of course.[61] The expectation of circulation and/or anthologising clearly affects how poems are written, and even if we can trace the new habit of collecting and anthologising inscribed poems to the fourth century and the early Hellenistic period,[62] we have very little evidence for how inscribed poems were chosen for inclusion, and known (or believed) authorship may well have been a factor. Nevertheless, as many of the poems in this collection demonstrate, it is far from easy to generalise about poetic differences between the inscribed and the 'literary'.

57 On Eur. *Tr.* 1188–91 cf. esp. Lougovaya 2013: 265.

58 Cf. Petrovic 2007.

59 On Ion of Samos and other poets cf. Gutzwiller 1998: 48–53, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 289–91, Cingano 2021.

60 Cf. Fraser 1972: II 796.

61 Netz 2020 (e.g. pp. 97–100) is a very clear demonstration of the importance of authorial 'names' for the establishment of the ancient literary canon and for the circulation of literature in antiquity, but, in the nature of things, inscribed verse is a rather different phenomenon.

62 Cf. n. 55 above.

Some of the inscribed poetry of the Hellenistic and imperial periods is, in sentiment and focus, much more obviously 'private' than that of classical Athens and, in several respects, all but indistinguishable from that of the 'literary' epitaphic poetry of epigrammatists whose names we know and whose poetry is presumed to have circulated in collections under their names, as well as in collections containing poems of more than one poet. On the other hand, our corpus of inscribed poetry, particularly of the later periods, ranges very widely in poetic ambition and sophistication, but much of it seems to offer, to put it simply, a rather stereotyped (and perhaps disappointingly uninformative) view of the dead who are commemorated and whose proclaimed virtues often stretch credulity; for those left behind, there is consolation and comfort in very familiar words, as also in the rituals for the dead. This is, of course, a situation by no means limited to ancient Greece; it will be familiar to any reader of more modern funerary inscriptions in many countries. Here, almost at random, is the inscription on a rather grand tomb in the ruined church of St Mary above Tintern in Wales:

> Richard White, son of George White of New Weir in the County of Hereford, Gent, died October 30th 1765 aged 67 years. Whose aimiable temper and hospitality called to this sequestered spot many of the first rank and character. Inoffensive and benevolent, he lived without an enemy and died deplored by all.

Several of the motifs of this inscription have close Greek parallels, and some familiar questions arise. We know that the deceased was a very wealthy leader of a local elite and that his factory was probably the principal supplier of local jobs; did he really not have an enemy?[63] Did 'everyone' mourn his passing? More important than such historical questions, however, or even than the acknowledgement that (simple) 'belief' is perhaps not the right category with which to analyse how epitaphs, both Greek and English, invite us to read them, is to set the consolatory language of epitaphic rhetoric within the specific social contexts in which it functioned and to seek to trace change over time in both the language and the function. The Plutarchan *Consolation to Apollonius* describes Apollonius' dead son as follows:

> οὗτος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐανθεστάτης ἡλικίας προαπεφοίτησεν ὁλόκληρος ἠΐθεος, ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος πᾶσι τοῖς συνήθεσιν αὐτῶι, φιλοπάτωρ γενόμενος καὶ φιλομήτωρ καὶ φιλοίκειος καὶ φιλόφιλος,[64] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν

[63] For such epitaphic claims cf. e.g. *SEG* 45.987.3 (Black Sea region, c. 50 BC) βιώσας εὖ πᾶσιν ἀμεμπτοτάτως.

[64] φιλόφιλος Michael: φιλόσοφος codd.

> εἰπεῖν φιλάνθρωπος, αἰδούμενος μὲν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν φίλων ὥσπερ πατέρας, στέργων δὲ τοὺς ὁμήλικας καὶ συνήθεις, τιμητικὸς δὲ τῶν καθηγησαμένων, ξένοις δὲ καὶ ἀστοῖς πραότατος, πᾶσι δὲ μείλιχος καὶ φίλος διά τε τὴν ἐξ ὄψεως χάριν καὶ τὴν εὐπροσήγορον φιλανθρωπίαν.
>
> [Plutarch], *Consolation to Apollonius* 120a–b

> But he, in the most blooming period of his years, has departed early, a perfect youth, envied and admired by all who knew him. He was fond of his father, fond of his mother, fond of his relatives and fond of his friends, or, to put it in a word, he loved his fellow men; he respected the elderly among his friends as fathers, he was affectionate towards his companions and familiar friends, he honoured his teachers, and was most kind toward strangers and citizens, gentle with all and beloved of all, both because of his charm of appearance and because of his affable devotion to his fellow men.
>
> (trans. F. C. Babbitt, adapted)

The rhetoric, like that for Richard White, seems timeless, but is not: the virtues and φιλανθρωπία which are attributed to the deceased young man are specific moral ambitions of the educated Greek elite of the Roman empire and can be widely illustrated from the literature (not least 'genuine' Plutarch) and inscriptions of the period. This is of course not surprising. The dead are always held up as examples to us.

Against this often misleading background of apparent sameness, it may in fact be the case that another difference between many 'literary' funerary epigrams and much inscribed such poetry is that the former sought on the whole to avoid the most formulaic and stereotyped language and ideas of epitaphic rhetoric, by finding new perspectives from which to present very traditional motifs and structures; this is obvious for a poet such as Callimachus,[65] but is by no means limited to him. Here too, however, some inscribed poetry also went its own way, as many of the poems in this collection demonstrate.

4 IDEAS OF DEATH IN GREEK VERSE-INSCRIPTIONS

The earliest Greek funerary poems have, apparently, little to say about the nature of death; what matters is the preservation of the name and

[65] Cf. e.g. *73*, *546*–7n., Walsh 1991. That funerary poetry was only one part of the range of 'literary' epigrammatists of the Hellenistic and imperial periods must also be taken into account in any consideration of such differences.

renown of the dead. Death calls forth pity (see e.g. III, IV), but a veil of silence is drawn over what death actually entails and what (if anything) the dead experience; so too, such early poems make almost no reference to the geography of the Underworld familiar from Homer and other early texts.[66] At most, various circumlocutions briefly describe the fact of death ('no longer seeing the sun', 'the chambers of Persephone'),[67] but the least said about the nature of death, apparently, the better. This restraint is not just the result of the brevity and general understatement of early epitaphs, but is a deliberate choice of commemorative mode. The use of verse and the elaborations it brings mean that we must always be very cautious in seeking to move from what is said in such poems to widely shared 'beliefs' about death and the afterlife, but we must also recognise that the use of hexameters and elegiacs did not inevitably entail the adoption of Homeric modes of thought. The picture of the Underworld painted in the Homeric poems was all but uniformly grim, and the replication of such images would not have well served the essentially positive and protreptic mode of early epitaph. In the early period, hexameter epitaphs (in particular) were largely focused on pointing to the name of the dead, the virtues which qualified them to be included in a communally and socially valuable type, rather than to be remembered as distinctive individuals, and to the monument which commemorated them.

Homer has an extraordinary poetic range for descriptions of killing, but the 'tribes of the dead' (ἔθνεα νεκρῶν, *Od.* 10.526, 11.34) are, for the most part, mere shadows without mind (φρένες, *Il.* 23.104) or strength, spirits (ψυχαί, *Il.* 1.3), now divorced from the bodies which used to contain them (*Od.* 11.218–22), which flutter like dreams (*Od.* 11.208, 222) or twittering bats (*Od.* 24.6–9), as insubstantial as smoke (*Il.* 23.100).[68] This picture of death in Homer, which should probably be understood as a deliberate poetic choice of the epic tradition, serves merely to confirm the value of life; for death there is no consolation to be found in the nature of the Underworld (*Od.* 11.487–91). The fortunate Sarpedon, whose father Zeus arranges that his body should be washed and preserved after death and that Death and Sleep should transport him home for proper burial and honours in Lycia, is an exception that proves the rule

[66] Cf. e.g. Chaniotis 2000, Garland 2001: 49–51.

[67] Cf. e.g. Peek 1960: 37, Tsagalis 2008: chap. 2.

[68] This greatly simplifies a much more nuanced and interesting set of poetic phenomena, but not, I hope, misleadingly so, at least with respect to the later epitaphic tradition; for the presentation of death and the Underworld in Homer cf. e.g. Vermeule 1979: chap. 3, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 10–107, Clarke 1999, Johnston 1999: 7–16, Gazis 2018.

(*Il.* 16.666–83); this famous scene was, however, also an important impetus to the later euphemistic view, very common in the epitaphic tradition, of death as eternal 'sleep'.[69]

Alternative views of a more blessed afterlife, available at least to some, may be traced from a relatively early date, but seem to have been all but excluded by Homer, perhaps both because they largely postdated the formative period of the epic tradition and for deliberate reasons of poetic choice. In one extraordinary moment in *Odyssey* 4, however, Menelaos tells Telemachos the fate which Proteus had told him was to be his:

> σοὶ δ᾽ οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι, διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε,
> Ἄργει ἐν ἱπποβότωι θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν,
> ἀλλά σ᾽ ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
> ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς —
> τῆι περ ῥηΐστη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν
> οὐ νιφετός, οὔτ᾽ ἂρ χειμὼν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ᾽ ὄμβρος,
> ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας
> Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους —
> οὕνεκ᾽ ἔχεις Ἑλένην καί σφιν γαμβρὸς Διός ἐσσι.
>
> Homer, *Odyssey* 4.561–9

> It is not your lot from the gods, glorious Menelaos, to die and meet your fate in horse-rearing Argos, but the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain and to the limits of the earth, where is fair-haired Rhadamanthys. There is life easiest for men; there is no snow, no great storm or rain, but Ocean constantly sends out the breezes of the gently blowing west wind to refresh men. The reason for your fate is that you have Helen and are the son-in-law of Zeus.

This picture of a paradisiacal dwelling after death finds a parallel in Hesiod's account in the 'Myth of Ages' of how the 'divine race of heroic men', which includes the heroes who fought at Troy, were after death settled by Zeus, like Menelaos, 'at the limits of the earth':

> Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης.
> καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
> ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ᾽ Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
> ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
> τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.
>
> Hesiod, *Works and Days* 169–73

[69] On Sleep and Death cf. e.g. Vermeule 1979: chap. 5, Lougovaya 2008: 33–7.

> Zeus the son of Kronos, the father, settled [them] at the limits of the earth, and they dwell without cares in their hearts on the Islands of the Blessed beside deep-swirling Ocean, fortunate heroes, for whom the fertile earth bears honey-sweet flourishing crops three times a year.

The origin of the notions of Elysium and the Isle(s) of the Blessed have been much discussed and remain disputed,[70] but what is clear is that our predominantly Athenocentric evidence for the classical period suggests that these ideas were not taken up by, or reflected in, the epitaphic tradition until a relatively late date (see e.g. LXXXI);[71] when they do enter the mainstream of epitaphic composition, they are part of a rhetoric in which the dead are both consoled and praised by the 'blessed' state in which they now find themselves.

In the archaic and classical periods, such posthumous εὐδαιμονία seems normally to have been associated with membership of particular religious groups;[72] 'initiation' indeed offered promises for an afterlife (see *HHDem.* 480–2). There is now a significant collection of mystical or magical texts which have been found associated with burials in various parts of the Greek world, notably in the west (southern Italy and Sicily), from northern and central Greece and from Crete, which seem to offer the dead advice for the Underworld or act as a kind of passport into a better afterlife. Collectively, these texts are usually referred to as 'gold leaves',[73] because they are often inscribed on thin gold leaf, which was then placed, for example, in the dead person's mouth. These texts are regularly labelled 'Orphic' or 'Bacchic', for some good reasons and for some not very good ones. Here, for example, is one of the best known 'gold leaves' from southern Italy (c. 400 BC), though versions of the same text have been found in several different parts of the Greek world:

[70] Cf. *710–12*n.

[71] Cf. further Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 173–4, Clarke 1999: 307–12, Parker 2005: 366–7; Cairon 2009: 135. Peres 2003 and Obryk 2012 discuss some of the conceptions of the afterlife in later inscriptions.

[72] An important (and unsurprising) exception is Plato, who rather stresses justice, morality and the pursuit of truth as the crucial factors, cf. e.g. *Gorgias* 523a–b, *Phaedo* 69c–d.

[73] These are most accessible in Graf–Johnston 2013; Johnston's account of the eschatology of the texts (Graf–Johnston 2013: chap. 4) is an excellent introduction to the issues; cf. also Parker–Stamatopoulou 2004. For an attempt to see continuity between the imagery of the 'gold leaves' and that of the later lament tradition cf. e.g. Alexiou 2002: 202–4.

Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἔργον. ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλησι θανεῖσθαι
εἰς Ἀίδαο δόμους εὐήρεας, ἔστ᾽ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κρήνα,
πὰρ δ᾽αὐτὰν ἑστακυῖα λευκὰ κυπάρισσος·
ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται.
ταύτας τᾶς κράνας μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθηις.
πρόσθεν δ᾽ εὑρήσεις τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δὲ ἐπύπερθεν ἔασι,
οἳ δέ σε εἰρήσονται ἐνὶ φρασὶ πευκαλίμαισι
ὅττι δὴ ἐξερέεις Ἄιδος σκότος ὀρφνήεντος.
εἶπον· Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
δίψαι δ᾽ εἴμ᾽ αὖος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ᾽ ὦκα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πιέναι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.
καὶ δή τοι ἐρέουσιν ὑποχθονίωι βασιλείαι·
καὶ δώσουσι πιεῖν τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας
καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πιὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι ἅν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
μύσται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλεεινοί.

Orphicorum Fragmenta 474 Bernabé[74]

This is the work of Memory. When [the initiate] is about to die and go down to the well-built house of Hades, on the right there is a spring, by which stands a white cypress. Descending there, the souls of the dead seek refreshment. Do not even go near this spring! Ahead you will find from the Lake of Memory cold water pouring forth; there are guards before it. They will ask you, with astute wisdom, what you are seeking in the darkness of murky Hades. Say: 'I am a son of Earth and starry Sky, I am parched with thirst and am dying; but swiftly grant me cold water flowing from the Lake of Memory to drink.' And they will announce you to the chthonian queen, and they will grant you to drink from the Lake of Memory. And you too, having drunk, will go along the sacred road on which other glorious initiates and bacchants make their way.

(trans. F. Graf and S. I. Johnston, adapted)

This text offers the dead the opportunity to join other μύσται καὶ βάκχοι who have passed the same way before; such blessedness is associated with cool water from 'the Lake of Memory', an idea which seems to recall and/ or reverse a river or lake of Lethe, 'Forgetfulness', from which the dead had to drink, thus wiping out their memories of the life and the people

[74] There are problems of text, orthography and interpretation, but none affect the simple use to which this text is here put. For a possible evocation of the substance of v.10 cf. XIII introductory n.

they had left behind (cf. 472n.). This text thus suggests a 'blessed afterlife' offered to those who have been 'initiated' into a particular group while on earth; this posthumous happiness is not available to all.[75] The famous 'Derveni Papyrus', an allegorising interpretation (probably late fifth century BC) of an Orphic poem, which was found in a burial near Thessaloniki in northern Greece, is perhaps another form of 'passport' to a happier afterlife for the dead. From possibly very close in time to these texts comes the song of the spirits of those initiated into the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis who make up the chorus of Aristophanes' *Frogs*:

χωρεῖτε νῦν
ἱερὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον θεᾶς, ἀνθοφόρον ἀν' ἄλσος
παίζοντες, οἷς μετουσία θεοφιλοῦς ἑορτῆς·
ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ταῖσιν κόραις εἶμι καὶ γυναιξίν,
οὗ παννυχίζουσιν θεᾶι, φέγγος ἱερὸν οἴσων.

χωρῶμεν εἰς πολυρρόδους
λειμῶνας ἀνθεμώδεις,
τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον,
τὸν καλλιχορώτατον
παίζοντες, ὃν ὄλβιαι
Μοῖραι ξυνάγουσιν.

μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος
καὶ φέγγος ἱερόν ἐστιν,
ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ' εὐ-
σεβῆ τε διήγομεν
τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους
καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας.

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 442–59

Go forward now to the goddess' sacred circle, and in her blossoming grove frolic, you who partake in the festival dear to the gods. I will go with the girls and the women, to carry the sacred flame where they revel all night for the goddess. Let us go forward to the flowery meadows full of roses, frolicking in our own style of beautiful dance, which the blessed Fates array. For us alone is

[75] *SEG* 55.723, for example, is a late Hellenistic poem for a mime-artist who had been initiated at both Samothrace and Eleusis, and it ends with a prayer to Hades to lead him 'to the place of the pious (εὐσεβέων)'; in *GVI* 1822.6 (Hellenistic Acarnania) the deceased proclaims μύσταις ἄμμιγα ναιετάω.

> there sun and sacred daylight, for we are initiated and righteous was our behaviour toward strangers and ordinary people.
>
> (trans. J. Henderson)

This is not a real cult song – we are watching imaginative comedy – but the song does use many of the same motifs as the ‘gold leaves’[76] or as a surviving passage of one of Pindar’s ‘Dirges’ (Θρῆνοι), cited in antiquity as consolation for a grieving father ([Plut.] *Consolation* 120c):

τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου
τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,
φοινικορόδοις δ᾽ ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν
καὶ λιβάνων σκιαρᾶν ⟨ ⟩
καὶ χρυσοκάρποισιν βέβριθε ⟨δενδρέοις⟩
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοισι τε
  τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς
τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δέ σφισιν
  εὐανθὴς ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος
Pindar fr. 129 Maehler[77]

> For them shines the might of the sun below during night time up here, and in meadows of red roses their country abode is laden with … shady frankincense trees and trees with golden fruit, and some take delight in horses and exercises, others in draughts, and others in lyres; and among them complete happiness blooms and flourishes.
>
> (trans. W. H. Race)

These ideas of a ‘happy afterlife’, a kind of inverse image of the gloomy ‘nothingness’ of the Underworld of epic tradition, were very long lasting, and when we find them in epitaphic poetry of the Hellenistic and imperial periods it will not do to dismiss them as clichés, which did not really mean anything, or at most as empty consolation for those left behind (cf. e.g. LXXXI).[78] The reflection of these ideas in the poetry of tombstones is part of a gradual broadening of the scope and ambition of such compositions,

[76] Cf. e.g. *Orph.* fr. 487 Bernabé χαῖρε· δεξιὰν ὁδοιπόρει / λειμῶνας θ᾽ ἱεροὺς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας. On the relative absence of ‘Orphic’ ideas in our corpus of verse-inscriptions cf. Wypustek 2014.

[77] Cf. also Pind. *Ol.* 2.68–80; on these Pindaric texts cf. e.g. Johnston in Graf–Johnston 2013: 100–1.

[78] With *Frogs* 454–5, for example, cf. *SGO* 05/03/06 (late Hellenistic Kyme) ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐσεβέων ναίων εὐφεγγέα χῶρον / χαίροις, *154–5*n. For the consolatory role of these ideas cf. e.g. [Plut.], *Consolation to Apollonius* 120b–1e.

a broadening which, for example, gave also a much greater role to narratives, both of the life and the death of the deceased, than is on show in the archaic and classical periods; further aspects of this extension of the epitaphic mode include the display on one *stēlē* of multiple poems for the same death and extended dialogues between the dead and either a 'passer-by' or those left behind, a mode which persisted in Greek funerary and lament traditions into the modern day.[79] Epitaphic verse of all periods, however, offered a very partial and deliberate selection from the welter of ideas, often conflicting and inconsistent, which were communally held at any time about the dead and the Underworld.[80] Dialogic poems, for example, apparently offer a mode of interaction between the living and the dead, but epitaphs barely touch on the unsettling and sometimes dangerous power which the dead might exercise over the living;[81] epitaphic verse is one strong signal (and/or hope) that the deceased have been properly honoured and thus consigned, once and for all, to 'another place' entirely separate from our own and from where they cannot exert any influence, baneful or otherwise, upon the lives of those left behind.

Many of the most common epitaphic ideas are attested first, not inscribed on tombs, but in the literature and drama of the classical period. Whether or not these passages deliberately evoke the language of inscribed epitaphs or simply reflect, as later epitaphs do, widespread cultural images, and/or whether they themselves influenced both general ideas about death and the subsequent inscriptional tradition are often not easy questions to answer, in part because of the relative paucity of personal epitaphs before the fourth century. Part of the lyric despair of the Sophoclean Antigone is a good example:

ὁρᾶτέ μ', ὦ γᾶς πατρίας πολῖται
τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν
στείχουσαν, νέατον δὲ φέγ-
γος λεύσσουσαν ἀελίου,
κοὔποτ' αὖθις· ἀλλά μ' ὁ παγ-
κοίτας Ἅιδας ζῶσαν ἄγει
τὰν Ἀχέροντος
ἀκτάν, οὔθ' ὑμεναίων
ἔγκληρον, οὔτ' ἐπὶ νυμ-
φείοις πώ μέ τις ὕμνος ὕ-
μνησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω.
Sophocles, *Antigone* 806–16

[79] Cf. e.g. Alexiou 2002: 138–9.
[80] Overviews of this material include Lattimore 1942 and Le Bris 2001.
[81] Cf. Johnston 1999.

> Behold me, citizens of my native land, as I make my last journey, and look on the light of the sun for the last time, and never more; Hades who lulls all to sleep is taking me, still living, to the shore of Acheron, without the bridal that was my due, nor has any song been sung for me at my marriage, but I shall be the bride of Acheron.
>
> (trans. H. Lloyd-Jones)

Virtually every one of Antigone's ideas here (the final journey, no longer seeing the light, Hades common to all, the bank of Acheron, no wedding or wedding-songs but a marriage to death) can be very fully documented in the later inscriptional tradition, but whether we are to understand that Antigone here recognisably sings an epitaph for herself while still alive (811) is less certain.[82] Fifth-century epitaphs are, on the whole, much more restrained than they were later to become, and the language of tragedy may well have seeped into epitaphic practice from a relatively early date.[83]

Perhaps the most remarkable classical text concerned with ideas about dying is Euripides' *Alcestis*, produced in Athens in 438 BC. The play dramatises the final day of Alcestis, who has offered to die in place of her husband Admetus, and her saving from Death by Heracles;[84] at its heart lie the lingering process of Alcestis' passing and the lamentations and regret of her husband, saved by his wife's sacrifice but left utterly bereft. The play is full of imagery and language which we also find in inscribed epitaphs of the classical period (usually the fourth century, from where much more evidence comes than from the fifth, see above, p. 1).[85] Alcestis is repeatedly praised in ways which are familiar from epitaphs: she is/was ἀρίστη γυνή (83, 151–2, 240, 324, 442, 899), εὐκλεής (150), πιστή

[82] Schirripa 2010: 161–2 argues for epitaphic themes and language in *Antigone* 876–82. Di Marco 1997 interestingly argues for links between Soph. *Ajax* 845–51 and the later tradition of epitaphs which request the passer-by to carry the sad message to the deceased's family and home-town, cf. LX, introductory n.

[83] Cf. above, p. 7. Tsagalis 2008: 268–73 collects examples of possible tragic influence on the language of fourth-century Attic epitaphs.

[84] To what extent Thanatos in the *Alcestis* differs from Hades and how much his representation is a one-off poetic invention of Euripides remain difficult and open questions, cf. e.g. Garland 2001: 58–9.

[85] Cf. e.g. Stieber 1998: 74–6, Iakov 2012: I 114–23 (much the fullest discussion). Lattimore 1942: 46 entertains the possibility that the *Alcestis* influenced the tradition of sepulchral epigram, and cf. also Burnett 1965: 254 n.5 (though no supporting evidence is cited). Most of the echoes of the *Alcestis* in Hellenistic epigram alleged by Zumin 1975 are reflections of very familiar sentiments without specific tragic 'models'.

(368, 880, 901), ἐσθλή (418, 615, 1083) and σώφρων (615).[86] We learn that what every man needs is an ἄλυπος wife (475), as every daughter a γενναῖος husband (165–6); both ideas are common in later epitaphs.[87] Other familiar funerary motifs include the choral prayer that the earth 'fall lightly' upon Alcestis (463–4),[88] the prominence of Charon, ferryman of the dead (252–8, 439–44),[89] and the inevitable consolation that Admetus is neither the first nor the last husband to lose a good wife and that we are all 'owed' to death (416–19, 892–3, 931–4).[90] Dying, Alcestis looks upon the sun for the last time (205–7) and is now to be ranked with οἱ οὐκέτι 'those who are no longer' (271–2, 322, 387, 392); the chorus's wish (744–6) that Alcestis enjoy in the Underworld any special pleasures reserved for 'the good' finds many echoes in later epitaphs.[91]

It would be easy to dismiss such analogies of language as unsurprising, given how commonplace the sentiments appear to be, but epitaphic language, as we have seen, tends to the commonplace, and, given the subject of the play, the audience is likely to have felt that the characters speak about Alcestis as the dead were indeed 'spoken about'. All the characters, sympathetic and unsympathetic alike, go out of their way to say 'nice things' about her; such praise already relegates Alcestis linguistically to the dead. It is not improbable that Euripides' play had some direct influence on later epitaphs – Alcestis became a model for the devoted but dead wife, and we find her cited as such in several later epitaphs[92] – but it is also likely that the play reflects an already developed epitaphic language

[86] In *CEG* 525 (Athens, mid fourth century) a dead woman is praised as ἐσθλὴ καὶ σώφρων; González González 2019: 107 seems to suggest a debt to Eur. *Alc.* 615, but this is improbable, cf. *CEG* 539 τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σώφρονα … Ἀρχεσράτην, 690. Pheres' opening words, however, as also his 'farewell' to Alcestis (vv. 626–7), are to be understood as conventional and platitudinous; Heracles' rehearsal of these same familiar motifs (1077–85), when he knows just how 'unnecessary' they really are, precisely skewers the conventionality (cf. Parker's n. on 1083). For a helpful survey of how both men and women are praised in epitaphs and how this changes over time cf. Breuer 1995.

[87] For ἄλυπος cf. Tod 1951: 186–7.

[88] Cf. also Eur. *Helen* 853. This motif is not in fact found in real epitaphs until much later (Lattimore 1942: 65–8, Vérilhac 1982: 253–6, Rossi 2001: 260–1, Ypsilanti 2018: 198); it is unclear to what extent this is simply an accident of our evidence.

[89] For Charon in epitaphs cf. *440–1*n., and for a possible echo of these verses of *Alc.* *442–3*n.

[90] This 'thoroughly trite' (Parker ad loc.) consolatory advice is spoken by the chorus at 416–19 and is presumably intended to be recognised as conventional, as also when it becomes part of Heracles' lecture on the nature of human life at 782–5; for the motif cf. Lattimore 1942: 170–1, 250–6, Wankel 1983.

[91] Cf. *154–5*, *710–12*nn.

[92] Cf. LXXIV introductory n. (with Cugusi 2003: 113–18), Calder 1975: 81–2.

which the audience will have recognised. Alcestis' tomb is imagined just out of town and set back from the main road (vv. 835–6),[93] as so many tombs were indeed placed (and often explicitly declared the fact),[94] and the chorus very clearly evoke a funerary epitaph for the dead queen which would have been inscribed on that tomb:

> μηδὲ νεκρῶν ὡς φθιμένων χῶμα νομιζέσθω
> τύμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ᾽ ὁμοίως
> τιμάσθω, σέβας ἐμπόρων.
> καί τις δοχμίαν κέλευ-
> θον ἐμβαίνων τόδ᾽ ἐρεῖ·
> Αὕτα ποτὲ προύθαν᾽ ἀνδρός,
> νῦν δ᾽ ἔστι μάκαιρα δαίμων·
> χαῖρ᾽, ὦ πότνι᾽, εὖ δὲ δοίης.
> τοῖαί νιν προσεροῦσι φῆμαι.
>
> Euripides, *Alcestis* 995–1005

> Let not the grave of your wife be regarded as the funeral mound of the dead departed but let her be honoured as are the gods, an object of reverence to the wayfarer. Someone walking a winding path past her tomb shall say, 'This woman died in the stead of her husband, and now she is a blessed divinity. Hail, Lady, and grant us your blessing!' With such words will they address her.
>
> (trans. D. Kovacs)

The verses do not just reflect the language of epitaphs,[95] but also include, as did Hector in the *Iliad*,[96] a 'passer-by' to utter the epitaph for Alcestis; the form both replays and keeps at a suitably epic–tragic distance the mode of 'real' epitaphs.

From the point of view of the subsequent epitaphic tradition, both what is said about Admetus and his own lamentations for his wife carry a similar importance.[97] At 197–8 the serving-woman observes (to paraphrase) that, had he died, that would have been the end of the matter, but 'having escaped death, he has such pain as he will never forget'; she does not say that he is worse off than his wife, but we shall not have to wait long for just such a sentiment. The sense that being left behind by the death of a

[93] Cf. the notes of Dale and Parker ad loc.
[94] Cf. e.g. Humphreys 1993: 91–2, Turner 2016: 150–1.
[95] See e.g. Swift 2010: 361. For ποτέ cf. *11*n. and above, p. 6, on *Il.* 7.90; for χαῖρε here cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 197–8.
[96] Cf. above, p. 6. τοῖαί νιν προσεροῦσι φῆμαι (*Alc.* 1005) rewrites Hector's concluding ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει.
[97] Cf. Hanink 2010: 28 and esp. Iakov 2012: I 104–9.

loved one is worse than the death itself is well attested in funerary poetry. Admetus complains bitterly that the δαίμων is depriving him of a wonderful wife (384), just as epitaphic poetry is filled with protestations against fate and the cruel gods. In 247–8 Admetus claims that the sun looks upon Alcestis and himself, 'two wretched people (δύο κακῶς πεπραγότας), who have done nothing to the gods to deserve *her* death'; here he places himself on her level, as though his suffering somehow matched hers. This too is familiar from inscriptional verse. What will seem to many as the irony of his later claim to her, 'you have taken the delight of life away from me' (347), i.e. he will not go to parties or play music anymore, is apparently lost on him. It is, as Laetitia Parker put it with reference to another of his potentially unfortunate laments, 'all too easy in the circumstances for him to say the wrong thing' (Parker 2007, note on vv. 334–5), but one of the questions which epitaphic language poses most sharply is, 'What would be the right thing to say'? Admetus can beg Alcestis to take him with her (382), but was that the right thing to say? What has been lurking *almost* unsaid throughout the play is finally spelled out in Admetus' speech at 935–61 (and cf. already 861–71): Alcestis is better off than he is. This may be a ἥττων λόγος of the kind that rhetoricians and Euripidean characters loved to argue (see Parker 2007 on 935–61), but it was one which was to echo down the centuries in lamentation and epitaph. Alcestis is now beyond the reach of ἄλγος and μόχθοι and has died εὐκλεής (cf. 445–54), whereas Admetus' life is now a painful and miserable one of loneliness (ἐρημία, 944)[98] and universal scorn and rejection; the first two of these three claims at least were to become familiar in the ancient poetry of death. Admetus has realised that he ought to be dead (939); it is the dead who are to be envied (866–7), for the living left behind take no pleasure in the light of the sun (868).

Given the striking epitaphic colour of the *Alcestis*, it is tempting to see Heracles' famous *carpe diem* speech (vv. 782–93), in which he explains to Admetus' servant that, because (again) 'all men are owed to death' (782) and no one knows what tomorrow will bring, we must enjoy ourselves with drink and sex and make the most of each day, as already evocative of what was to become a common theme of later epitaphs.[99] Here, however, it is

[98] See 552n. Merkelbach–Stauber adduce *Alc.* 944 on *SGO* 01/20/38.8 (Hellenistic Miletos), a widower κωκύει δ' οἶκον ἔρημον ὁρῶν; the motif is widespread, cf. e.g. *SGO* 03/07/11 μήτηρ δ' ἡ πανόδυρτος ἐρημαῖον κατὰ δῶμα κτλ. (late Hellenistic Erythrai), 05/01/43 (Hellenistic Smyrna, etc.). With *Alc.* 945 (Admetus seeing his bed bereft of his wife) cf. e.g. *SGO* 01/20/24.5–6 (Hellenistic Miletos). Kinesias' lament at Ar. *Lys.* 865–9 (ἔρημα δὲ / εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι πάντα κτλ.) perhaps already evokes Admetus' desolation at *Alc.* 940–9.

[99] For this theme in epitaphs cf. LXIX introductory n., *GVI* 1016, *SEG* 43.920, 45.1686, 47.1146, Lattimore 1942: 260–3, Ameling 1985, Rossi 2001: 200–1, Rohland forthcoming.

perhaps more likely that Euripides was ahead of, rather than reflecting, the epitaphic mode. It seems unlikely that fifth-century epitaphs of any kind made much of calls to hedonistic indulgence, and there is very little trace of such a mode in funerary poetry as early as this. Heracles' speech was much anthologised in later antiquity,[100] and it seems more likely that such themes became part of the extension of the scope of funerary poetry in the post-classical period which we have already noted (see above, pp. 27–8).

5 ABOUT THIS EDITION

The poems presented here are divided into those for males (of all ages) and those for females (of all ages); a more nuanced arrangement, for example by age or status of the deceased, would have been possible, but the nature of verse-inscriptions often makes fine distinctions very difficult, and simplicity here seemed most straightforward. Each section follows as close to a chronological order as can be established; in assigning dates to poems I have normally accepted the views of the standard editions, where more recent discussion is not available. The chosen poems survive solely as inscriptions, usually carved into stone or marble, though occasionally painted on similar surfaces, or solely as transcripts of now lost inscriptions; I have, on the whole, chosen poems which are well enough preserved not to require extensive supplementation and textual discussion, though I hope that the selection does not conceal the difficulties of interpretation which this material can pose. The principal aim of the volume has been to make an inevitably small selection of Greek epitaphs more accessible to readers with widely differing literary and historical interests and widely different levels of linguistic attainment; in particular, I hope that this volume, by demonstrating the rich diversity of our corpus of inscribed poetry, will encourage others, including graduate students, to take the study of this material seriously and to range more widely in it than I have been able to do.

I am not by training an epigraphist, and it will be immediately clear that professional epigraphists are not one of the principal target audiences of this volume, though I hope that they will find something of interest in it. I have taken various liberties with the texts for the sake of accessibility and legibility. I have standardly changed spelling and orthography to that with which most readers of Greek literature will be familiar and have printed elisions where metre demands it; with a few exceptions, however, the apparatus records what originally stood on the stone. Where no

[100] Cf. Parker 2007: 208.

source for a cited reading appears in the apparatus, that reading is that of the inscription. I have not always put square brackets around letters which cannot be read on the stone, if only one or two letters are missing and the restoration is hardly in doubt. So too, I have indented all pentameters, regardless of the practice of the inscriptions, and added iota adscripts (the standard convention of this series) when they are required; I always print θνήισκω etc., not θνήσκω. The bibliographies which follow the introductions to some poems do not include the discussions which can be traced through the sources cited for each poem; thus, for example, the bibliography for XXI does not include the discussion of the poem in *SGO* 03/05/02.

I would very much have liked to include photographs (where available) of the stones on which the poems are written, but there would have been room only for a very few, and in the end it seemed better to concentrate on the texts alone. The standard sources from which the poems are cited usually provide information as to where photographs can be found.

EPITAPHS

EPITAPHS FOR MEN

I

σᾶμα τόδ᾽ Ἀρνιάδα· χαροπὸς τόνδ᾽ ὤλεσεν Ἄρης
βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσὶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀράθθοιο ῥοϜαῖσι,
πολλὸν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ στονόϜεσσαν ἀϜϋτάν.

CEG 145 = *GVI* 73

II

[εἴτε ἀστό]ς τις ἀνὴρ εἴτε ξένος ἄλλοθεν ἐλθὼν
Τέττιχον οἰκτίρας ἄνδρ᾽ ἀγαθὸν παρίτω,
ἐν πολέμωι φθίμενον, νεαρὰν ἥβην ὀλέσαντα.
ταῦτ᾽ ἀποδυράμενοι νεῖσθ᾽ ἐπὶ πρᾶγμ᾽ ἀγαθόν.

CEG 13 = *GVI* 1226

III

ἄνθρωπ᾽, ὃς στείχεις καθ᾽ ὁδὸν φρασὶν ἄλλα μενοινῶν,
στῆθι καὶ οἴκτιρον σῆμα Θράσωνος ἰδών.

CEG 28 = *GVI* 1224

IV

στῆθι καὶ οἴκτιρον Κροίσου παρὰ σῆμα θανόντος
ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐνὶ προμάχοις ὤλεσε θοῦρος Ἄρης.

CEG 27 = *GVI* 1225

V

Γάστρωνος τόδε σᾶμα φιλοξένου ὃς μάλα πολλοῖς
ἀστοῖς καὶ ξείνοις δῶκε θανὼν ἀνίαν.

CEG 123 = *GVI* 77

I. 1 ΤΟΔΕΑΡΝ– 3 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΤΟΝΤΑ

II. 1 ΑΛΟΘΕΝ 2 ΤΕΤΙΧΟΝ 4 ΝΕΣΘΕΕΠΙ

III. 1 ΑΝΘΡΩΠΕΟΣΤΕΙΧ– ΑΛΑ

V. 1 ΓΑΣΣΤΡΟΝΟΣ ΟΣΣΜΑΛΑ

VI

πότνια Σωφροσύνη, θύγατερ μεγαλόφρονος Αἰδοῦς,
πλεῖστά σε τιμήσας εὐπόλεμόν τ᾽ Ἀρετὴν
Κλείδημος Μελιτεὺς Κλειδημίδου ἐνθάδε κεῖται,
ζῆλος πατρί ποτ᾽ ὤν, μητ[ρὶ δὲ νῦν ὀ]δύ[νη].

CEG 102 = *GVI* 1564

VII

Ἑλλὰς μὲν πρωτεῖα τέχνης αὐλῶν ἀπένειμεν
Θηβαίωι Ποτάμωνι, τάφος δ᾽ ὅδε δέξατο σῶμα·
πατρὸς δὲ μνήμαισιν Ὀλυμπίχου αὔξετ᾽ ἔπαινος,
οἷον ἐτέκνωσεν παῖδα σοφοῖς βάσανον.

CEG 509 = *GVI* 894

VIII

σῆς ἀρετῆς μνήμη, Λυσανδρίδη, οὔποτε λείψει·
μάρτυρα γὰρ πιστὸν πᾶσι παρέσχες Ἄρη,
ὅς σε κρατεῖν ἐν ὅπλοις θ[ῆκεν]· μοίραι δὲ δαμασθεὶς
θνήισκεις, εὐκλεΐσας δ᾽ Ἄνδρον ἁλιστέφανον.

CEG 627

IX

ζηλοῖ σ᾽ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα ποθεῖ θ᾽ ἱεροῖς ἐν ἀγῶσιν,
Εὐθία, οὐκ ἀδίκως, ὃς τέχνηι, οὐχὶ φύσει
ἐν βοτρυοστεφάνωι κωμωιδίαι ἡδυγέλωτι
δεύτερος ὢν τάξει πρῶτος ἔφυς σοφίαι.

CEG 550 = *GVI* 1495

X

εἴ σε Τύχη προὔπεμψε καὶ ἡλικίας ἐπέβησεν,
ἐλπίδι γ᾽ ἦσθα μέγας τῶι τε δοκεῖν, Μακαρεῦ,
ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς Ἕλλησιν ἔσεσθαι·
σωφροσύνηι δ᾽ ἀρετῆι τ᾽ οὐκ ἀκλεὴς ἔθανες.

CEG 568 = *GVI* 1698

VI. 1 ΠΟΤΝΙΑ ex ΟΛΒΙΑ correxit lapidarius 2 ΤΕΑΡΕΤΗΝ 4 lectio incerta: sic restituerunt Peek, Hansen

VII. 2 ΠΟΥΑΜΩΝΙ 3 ΟΛΥΝΠΙΧΟΥ 4 –ΩΣΕΜ

VIII. 1 –ΑΝΔΡΙΛΗ 2 ΠΙΣΤΟΜ 3 suppl. Dunant 4 ΔΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ

IX. 1 ΣΕΕΛΛΑΣ 2 ΤΕΧΝΕΙ 3 ΕΜΒΟΤΡ– ΚΩΜΟΙΔΙΑ 4 ΕΦΥΣΟΦΙΑΙ

X. 2 ΔΟΚΕΙΜΜΑΚ– apographum 4 ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΕΙ apographum ΤΕΟΥΚ apographum

XI

Πόντου ἀπ᾽ Εὐξείνου Παφλαγὼν μεγάθυμος Ἀτώτας
ἧς γαίας τηλοῦ σῶμ᾽ ἀνέπαυσε πόνων,
τέχνηι δ᾽ οὔτις ἔριζε· Πυλαιμένεος δ᾽ ἀπὸ ῥίζης
εἴμ᾽, ὃς Ἀχιλλῆος χειρὶ δαμεὶς ἔθανεν.

CEG 572 = *GVI* 836

XII

τοῖος ἐὼν Εὔγνωτος ἐναντίος εἰς βασιλῆος
χεῖρας ἀνηρίθμους ἦλθε βοαδρομέων,
θηξάμενος Βοιωτὸν ἐπὶ πλεόνεσσιν Ἄρηα,
οὐ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ Ὀγχηστοῦ χάλκεον ὦσε νέφος·
ἤδη γὰρ δοράτεσσιν ἐλείπετο θραυομένοισιν,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἄρρηκτον λῆμα παρασχόμενος,
ὀκτάκι γὰρ δεκάκις τε συνήλασεν ἰλαδὸν ἵππωι,
ἥσσονι δὲ ζώειν οὐ καλὸν ὡρίσατο,
ἀλλ᾽ ὅγ᾽ ἀνεὶς θώρακα παρὰ ξίφος ἄρσενι θυμῶι
π[λή]ξατο, γενναίων ὡς ἔθος ἁγεμόνων.
τὸν μὲν ἄρ᾽ ἀσκύλευτον ἐλεύθερον αἷμα χέοντα
δῶκαν ἐπὶ προγόνων ἠρία δυσμενέες·
νῦν δέ νιν ἔκ τε θυγατρὸς ἐοικότα κἀπὸ συνεύνου
χάλκεον [εἰκ]όν᾽ ἔχει π[έτ]ρος Ἀκραιφιέων.
ἀλλά, νέοι, γίνεσθε κατὰ κλέος ὧδε μαχηταί,
ὧδ᾽ ἀγ[αθ]οί, πατέρων ἄστεα ῥυόμενοι.

GVI 1603

XIII

Ζηνὸς ἀπὸ ῥίζης μεγάλου Λυκόφρων ὁ Φιλίσκου
δόξηι, ἀληθείαι δ᾽ ἐκ πυρὸς ἀθανάτου·
καὶ ζῶ ἐν οὐρανίοις ἄστροις ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀερθείς,
σῶμα δὲ μητρὸς ἐμῆς μητέρα γῆν κατέχει.

SEG 28.528

XI. 2 Σ[[Σ]]ΩΜ apographum

XII. 5 ἦ δὴ Ma 6 ΑΡΗΚΤΟΝ 10 π[λή]ξατο Pappadakis: κλίνατο proposuit Dragoumis, legit Peek: alii alia 11 ΤΟΜΜΕΝ 14 lectio incerta: sic Perdrizet 16 ΑΙΣΤΕΑ

XIII. 2 ΔΕΕΚ

XIV

ὀστέα μὲν κρύπτει Τμῶλος νεάταισιν ὑπ᾽ ὄχθαις
Ἑρμίου, ὀγκωτὰ δ᾽ ἀμφιβέβακε κόνις
τηλεφαής· ξεστὰ δὲ πέτρα καθύπερθ᾽ ἀγορεύει
τὸν νέκυν ἀφθόγγωι φθεγγομένα στόματι.
τοῦτο δέ οἱ κενέωμα τάφου ποθέοντες ἑταῖροι
Σμύρνης ἀγχιάλοις χεῦαν ἐπ᾽ ἀϊόσιν.

SGO 05/01/42 = *IK* 23.512 = *GVI* 1745

XV

οὐκέτι δὴ μάτηρ σε, Φιλόξενε, δέξατο χερσίν,
σὰν ἐρατὰν χρονίως ἀμφιβαλοῦσα δέρην,
οὐδὲ μετ᾽ ἀϊθέων ἀν᾽ ἀγάκλυτον ἤλυθες ἄστυ,
γυμνασίου σκιερῶι γηθόσυνος δαπέδωι.
ἀλλά σου ὀστέα πηγὰ πατὴρ θέτο τεῖδε κομίσσας,
Καῦνος ἐπεὶ μαλερῶι σάρκας ἔδαυσε πυρί.

Bernand 62 = *GVI* 1827

XVI

μυρί᾽ ἀποφθιμένοιο τάφωι περὶ τῶιδε χυθεῖσα
παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου μύρατο Καλλιόπα,
ὠκύμορον καὶ ἄτεκνον ἐπεὶ θέτο τᾶιδ᾽ ὑπὸ γαίαι
ἑπτακαιεικοσέτους πνεῦμα λιπόντα βίου,
ἵστορα παιδείας, τόξωι κλυτόν, ὧι ποκα ληιστάς
ἀνδροφόνους ἁλίαις κτεῖνεν ἐπὶ Στροφάσιν.
ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι νῦν, παροδῖτα, τὸν ἐκ χθονὸς Ἀλκινόοιο
χαῖρ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀγαθοῦ παῖδ᾽ ἀγαθὸν Σατύρου.

GVI 922

XIV. 3 –ΠΕΡΘΕΑΓΟΡ–

XV. 6 ἔδαυσε Wilamowitz: ΕΔΕΥΣΕ

XVI. 5 ΛΗΣΤΑΣ

XVII

τὸν Μούσαις, ὦ ξεῖνε, τετιμένον ἐνθάδε κρύπτει
  Τιμόκριτον κόλπωι κυδιάνειρα κόνις·
Αἰτωλῶν γὰρ παισὶ πάτρας ὕπερ εἰς ἔριν ἐλθὼν
  ὡγαθὸς ἢ νικᾶν ἤθελεν ἢ τεθνάναι.
πίπτει δ᾽ ἐν προμάχοισι λιπὼν πατρὶ μυρίον ἄλγος,
  ἀλλὰ τὰ παιδείας οὐκ ἀπέκρυπτε καλά·
Τυρταίου δὲ Λάκαιναν ἐνὶ στέρνοισι φυλάσσων
  ῥῆσιν τὰν ἀρετὰν εἵλετο πρόσθε βίου.

GVI 749

XVIII

πᾶσιν δακρυτὸς Δημήτριος, ὃν γλυκὺς ὕπνος
  εἶχεν καὶ Βρομίου νεκτάρεαι προπόσεις·
δούλου δ᾽ ἐκ χειρῶν σφαγιασθεὶς καὶ πυρὶ πολλῶι
  φλεχθεὶς σὺν μελάθροις ἤλυθον εἰς Ἀΐδην,
ὄφρα πατὴρ καὶ ὅμαιμοι ἐμοὶ καὶ πρέσβεα μήτηρ
  δέξαντ᾽ εἰς κόλπους ὀστέα καὶ σποδιήν.
ἀλλὰ πολῖται ἐμοὶ τὸν ἐμὲ ῥέξαντα τοιαῦτα
  θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς ζωὸν ἀνεκρέμασαν.

SGO 02/03/01 = *GVI* 1120

XIX

στάλα μὲν οὐκ ἄσαμος, ἔμπνοος δ᾽ ἔτι
ῥώμα φιλόπλου φωτός· ἴσχ᾽ ὁδοιπόρε.
στάσαντες ἴχνος εἰσίδωμεν ὅντινα
κέκευθε τύμβος. γράμμα μανύει τόδε·
Λέπτωνος ἐσθλὸν κοῦρον Ἐπίγονον χυτὰ
κούφα πάτρας ἀρωγὸν ἀμφέχει κόνις.

GVI 1832

XVII. 1 τὸμ Μούσαις apographum 2 Τιμόκριτογ apographum 4 ἤθελεν Peek: ἤθελε apographum 5 ἐμ προμάχοισι λιπὼμ apographum

XIX. 3 στάσαντες Hiller von Gaertringen: ΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ

XX

σῆμα τόδ᾽ ἐν κενεᾶι κεῖται χθονί, σῶμα γὰρ ἕδρα
  Ὠρείου κρύπτει πυρκαϊὴ φθιμένου·
⟨

⟩
τὸν δ᾽ ἔτι παππάζοντ᾽ ἐπὶ γούνασι παῖδα δεδορκὼς
  Ἅιδης οἷ σκοτίας ἀμφέβαλεν πτέρυγας.
ἡ δ᾽ ὁσίαν στέρξασα λέχους Κύπριν εὔξατο ἄμμιν
  χῶμα καὶ ἐν ξεστῶι γράμμ᾽ ἐτύπωσε πέτρωι.
δηλοῖ δ᾽ οὔνομα πατρὸς ἐμόν θ᾽ ὅδε τύμβος, ὁδῖται·
  ἀλλ᾽ ἴτε τέρμ᾽ ἀγαθῆς τ᾽ ἐξανύοιτε τρίβου.

GVI 632

XXI

ἕβδομον εἰς δέκατόν τε βίου λυκάβαντα περῶντα
  Μοῖρά με πρὸς θαλάμους ἅρπασε Φερσεφόνας·
λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾶς με δραμεῖν μόνον ἤθελε δαίμων,
  τὸν δὲ μακρὸν γήρως οὐκ ἐτίθει δόλιχον·
ἄρτι δ᾽ ἐφηβείαις θάλλων Διονύσιος ἀκμαῖς
  καὶ σελίσιν Μουσῶν ἤλυθον εἰς Ἀΐδαν.
ἀλλὰ πάτερ μᾶτερ τε, προλείπετε πικρὸν ὀδυρμόν·
  τέρμα γὰρ εἴς με βίου Μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέκρανε τόδε.

GVI 945

XXII

ἁ λάλος ἐν ζωοῖσι τὰ μὴ ζώοντα παρ᾽ ἀστοῖς
  Φάμα καρύσσω μουσοεπεῖ στόματι·
Ζμύρνα πάτρα, γενέτας Δημήτριος ἠδὲ τεκοῦσα
  Νάννιον ἔκλαυσαν δισσὰ κόρων πάθεα,
ὧν ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν ἐνὶ ζωοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ
  πλείω, μοῖρα δὲ σή, Ματρέα, ἦν τριετής.
Ἀΐ[δε]ω πυλαουρέ, σὺ δ᾽ εὐαγέων ἐπὶ θώκους,
  Αἰακέ, σημήναις ἧι θέμις ἀτραπιτόν.

SGO 05/01/50 = *IK* 23.513 = *GVI* 1179

XX. lectiones finium uersuum saepius incertae 1 ΕΔΡΑ legit Peek, ΑΙΑ Bousquet 2 post h. u. lacunam statuit Peek 3 παππάζοντ᾽ Hunter: ΠΑΠΤΑΙΝΟΝΤ

XXI. 7 τε om. tabella, ut uid.

XXIII

οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀρετᾶς ὄνυμ᾽ ὤλεσας, ἀλλά σε φάμα
κυδαίνουσ᾽ ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἀΐδα,
Θαρσύμαχε· τρανὲς δὲ καὶ ὀψαγόνων τις ἀείσει
μνωόμενος κείνας θούρ[ιδ]ος ἱπποσύνας,
Ἐρταίων ὅτε μοῦνος ἐπ᾽ ἠνεμόεντος Ἐλαίου
οὐλαμὸν ἱππείας ῥήξαο φυλόπιδος,
ἄξια μὲν γενέταο Λεοντίου, ἄξια δ᾽ ἐσθλῶν
ἔργα μεγαυχήτων μηδόμενος προγόνων.
τοὔνεκά σε φθιμένων καθ᾽ ὁμήγοριν ὁ κλυτὸς Ἅιδης
ἷσε πολισσούχωι σύνθρονον Ἰδομενεῖ.

GVI 1513

XXIV

ἐπ᾽ ὠκυμοίρωι τοῦτον Ἀσκληπιοδότωι
πατὴρ Νόητος χῶσεν εὐερκῆ τάφον,
καὶ ξεστὸν οἰκτροῦ παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σήματι
ἔθηκε βωμόν, πενταέτους τ᾽ εἰκὼ τέκνου
κενὴν ὄνησιν ὀμμάτων χαράξατο,
τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς γῆν ἐλπίδων κρύψας χαράν·
μήτηρ δ᾽ ἐν οἴκοις ἁ τάλαιν᾽ ὀδύρεται
νικῶσα θρήνοις πενθίμην ἀηδόνα.

SGO 09/01/03 = *IK* 29.79 = *GVI* 661

XXV

οὐ νόθον ἐκ προτέροιο, Φιλόκρατες, ἤνεσας ἔργον
σεῖο βίου, πινυταῖς θηγόμενος πραπίσιν·
ἦ γὰρ ἀπὸ πράτας μεμελημένος ἦς Ἐπικούρου
δόγμασιν εὐξυνέτοις, ὡς θέμις, ἁλικίας.
αὖθι Τύχης δ᾽ οἴακι παλιμπλανέος βιότοιο
εἴκων ἐν Μινύαις φῶτας ἐπαθλοκόμεις.
κεῖσαι δ᾽ ἀγχόθι παιδὸς ἑοῦ, ψαύων μελέεσσιν,
ἄσμενος ἐκ ζωᾶς εἰς προθανόντα μολών.

GVI 1516

XXIII. 6 ΦΟΙΛΟΠΙΔΑΣ 9 ΑΔΗΣ 10 –ΣΟΥΧΩΣΥΝ–

XXIV. 1 τοῦτον lectio incerta 3 ἀμφὶ σήματι Bücheler: ΑΝΩΣΗΜΑΤΙ tabella ut uid. 4 ΤΕΕΙΚΩ 7 ΔΕΕΝ ΤΑΛΑΙΝΑΟΔΥ–

XXV. 8 ΑΖΜΕΝΟΣ

XXVI

πρὶν μὲν Ὁμήρειο[ι ⏑⏑]δες φιλ[οδέσπο]τον ἦθος
Εὐμαίου χρυσέαις ἔκλαγον ἐν σελίσιν·
σεῦ δὲ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο σαόφρονα μῆτιν ἀείσει,
Ἴναχ', ἀείμνηστον γράμμα λαλεῦσα πέτρη.
καί σε πρὸς εὐσεβέων δόμον ἄξεται ἐσθλὰ Φιλίσκος
δῶρα καὶ ἐν ζώοις κἀν φθιμένοισι τίνων,
σήν τ' ἄλοχον Κλειοῦν ταὐτόν σοι παῖδα τίουσαν,
πηγῆς ἧς μαστῶν εἵλκυσε νηπίαχος.
ὦ δυσάλυκτ' Ἀΐδη, τί τὸ τηλίκον ἔσχες ὄνειαρ
κλεινὸν Κλευμαχίδος κοῦρον ἀειράμενος;

GVI 1729

XXVII

οὐ νῆας – τί δέ μοι ν[αῦς] αἰτίη; οὐδὲ θάλασσαν
μέμφομαι· ἐκ πελάγους δ' ἔκφυγον εἰς λιμένα·
ἄγκυραν καὶ πεῖσμα καθήρμοσα καὶ τὸν ἐς Ἅιδην
ὅρμον νυκτιμανοῦς ἦλθον ἀπαρκιέω
πυκνῇσιν μάστιξιν ἐλώμενος· ἁ δὲ τάλαινα
θρεψαμένα σποδιὴν εἰς πόλιν ἀγάγετο.
Ζώσιμον αἰάζεις Καλλίστιον, ὃν προγένειον
ἀρτίχνουν γενέται πάρθεο Νικομάχωι.

SGO 03/07/17 = *IK* 2.304 = *GVI* 1129

XXVI. 1 de lectione tabellae non constat: γλυφί]δες Paton-Hicks: γρα]φίδες Herzog, Peek (γραφί]δες iam Reitzenstein) φιλ[οδέσπο]τον Paton-Hicks 6 ΚΑΜΦΘΙΜ– 7 Κλειοῦν ταὐτόν Reitzenstein, Weil: κλείουντ' αὐτόν Paton-Hicks 9 δυσάλυκτ' Paton-Hicks: ΔΥΣΑΛΙΚΤ Ἀΐδη Reitzenstein: ΑΙΔΗΙ

XXVII. 3 ΑΝΚΥΡΑΝ ΑΔΗΝ 7 ΠΡΟΓΕΝΗΟΝ 8 ΝΕΙΚΟ–

XXVIII

ἦλθεν ἀπὸ ξείνης Κλεοφῶν χθονός, ἦλθε δὲ παιδὸς
εἰς μοῖραν προφανῆ σχέτλιος ἠδ᾽ ἀλόχου,
εἶδε γὰρ οὓς ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα
τοὺς τρισσοὺς νέκυας σταθμὸς ἔθαψε δόμου·
σώθη δ᾽ εἰς πολλοὺς θρήνους μόνος, ἀθρόα κλαύσας
ὀρφανίην, εὐνήν, οἶκον, ἀπροσπολίην.

υἱὸς ἐγὼ Κάλλιππος ἀνιηρ[οῦ] Κλεοφῶντος
ἐνθάδε καὶ μήτηρ κεῖται Ἀριστόπολις,
οὐ κοινῆι μοίρηι δεδμημένοι, ἀλλὰ πεσόντος
τρεῖς ἅμα λυγαίου κεκλιμένοι θαλάμου.
νύκτα δὲ πικροτάτην μεταδόρπιον ὑπνώσαντες
οἰκοῦμεν μέλαθρ[ον — ◡◡ — ◡◡ ×]

GVI 1988

XXIX

τίς κατὰ γᾶς; Ἑκαταίωι ὁμώνυμος ὦ ξένε πατρί
οὔπω ἐφηβείην θηκάμενος χλαμύδα,
τῶι σοφία μεμέλητο καὶ εὐμόχθων ἀπ᾽ ἀγώνων
νίκη καὶ γλυκεροὶ Πιερίδων κάματοι·
ὀκτωκαιδεχέτης δ᾽ ἔλιπεν φάος· αἵ γὰρ ἀδε[— ×]
Μοῖραι που μερόπων ἁνιοχεῦσι βίους.

SGO 09/07/09 = *IK* 20.32

XXVIII. 7 ΑΝΕΙΗΡ apographum 9 ΚΟΙΝΗΜΟΙΡΗ apographum 12 μέλαθρ[ον Περσεφόνης ζοφερόν] Nikephoros

XXIX. 1 ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΙ ut uid. tabella: ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΥ legunt alii 2 ΕΦΕΙΒΗΗΝ 3 –ΜΟΧΘΟΝ 4 ΚΑΜΑΤΟ 5 αἵ γὰρ Hunter: ΑΓΑΡ: ἅ γὰρ uel ἆ γὰρ alii 6 ΜΟΙΡΑΙ legunt alii, ΜΟΙΡΑ alii ἁνιοχεῦσι Asgari–Fıratlı: ΑΝΙΟΧΕΥΣΕ

XXX

ἄρτι σὲ τὸν θάλλοντα νέοις ἐπὶ γυμνάδος ἔργοις,
ἅβας καλλίστοις ἄνθεσι τερπόμενον
ἠΐθεον, Πρώταρχε, πατὴρ ἐκαλύψατο τύμβωι,
ὀστέα δ᾿ ὀγκωθεὶς οὗτος ἔδεκτο τάφος.
πρόσθεν δ᾿ ὁ πρέσβυς πινυτῶι δεδμημένος ἄλγει
Ἰσιάδ᾿ ὠκύμορον μύρετο θυγατέρα·
αἰάξας δ᾿ ἄπληστα παλίνδρομον ἔλλαβε πένθος
Πρώταρχος, γαμετὴν γὰρ στενάχησε λίην.
λάϊνα δ᾿ ὤγκωσεν τάδε σήματα· τὰς γὰρ ἀφ᾿ ὑμῶν
Ἅιδης γηροτρόφους ἐλπίδας ὠρφάνισεν.

GVI 1420

XXXI

τὸν πάσης πολύβυβλον ἀφ᾿ ἱστορίης μελεδωνὸν
πρέσβυν ἀοιδοπόλων δρεψάμενον σελίδα,
τὸν σοφίην στέρξαντα νόωι μεγαλόφρονα Γόργον
τὸν Κλαρίου τριπόδων Λητοΐδεω θέραπα
Κεκροπὶς ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει κόνις· εὐσεβίης δὲ
εἵνεκεν εὐσεβέων χῶρον ἔβη φθίμενος.

SGO 03/05/02 = *GVI* 764

XXXII

ἁγεμόνα Πτολεμαῖον, ὁδοίπορε, τῆιδέ με κεύθει
τύμβος ἀνὰ κρατερὴν φυλόπιδα φθίμενον,
παῖδά τε Μηνοόδωρον ἐνὶ πτολέμοισιν ἀταρβῆ
καὶ θρασὺν αἰχμητὴν σημοφόρωι κάμακι,
εὖτ᾿ ἐπὶ δυσμενέεσσι Μακηδόνι σὺν στρατιώτηι,
τοῖο τόθ᾿ ἁγεμονῶν θούριον ἆγον Ἄρη·
δήϊα δ᾿ ἐν προμάχοισι καὶ ἄσπετα φῦλα κανόντας
ἀμφοτέρους Ἀΐδας ὠμὸς ἐληΐσατο.
κλεινὰ δ᾿ ὑπὲρ πάτρας θάνομεν θρεπτήρια δόντες,
γυμνασίαρχος ἐν ἆι καὶ τὸ πάρος γενόμαν,
πολλάκι τ᾿ ἐν πρυλέεσσιν ἀρήϊος, ἔνθα δὲ βουλᾶς
χρῆμα, τὸν ἐκ πραπίδων αἶνον ἐνεγκάμενος.
[ἀλλ]ὰ σύ, καρτερέ, χαῖρε καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις, Πτολεμαῖε·
[χαίρειν τ᾿] αὐδήσας υἱόν, ὁδῖτ᾿, ἄπιθι.

Bernand 4 = *GVI* 1149

XXX. 5 πυκινῶι Boeckh

XXXI. 3 ΣΤΕΡΞΑΤΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΦΡ– 4 ΤΡΙΤΡΙΠΟΔ–

XXXII. 11 ΕΜΠΡΥΛ– 13 ΕΜΦΘΙΜ– 14 [χαίρειν τ᾿] Peek: [ὅν τε προσ] Wilhelm υἱόν Wilhelm: ΥΙΟΣ

XXXIII

Δ δηρὸν ἐμῶν κοκυῶν ἐριθηλέα δώματ᾽ ἐόντα
Ι   ἶς ἄμαχος Μοιρῶν ἐξόλεσεν τριάδος·
Α αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, τυννὸς κομιδῆι βιότοιο τε πατρῶν
Σ   Σώφυτος εὖνις ἐὼν οἰκτρὰ Ναρατιάδης,
Ω ὡς ἀρετὴν Ἑκάτου Μουσέων τ᾽ ἤσκηκα σὺν ἐσθλῆι
Φ   φυρτὴν σωφροσύνηι, τῆμος ἐπεφρασάμην
Υ ὑψώσαιμί κε πῶς μέγαρον πατρώϊον αὖθις·
Τ   τεκνοφόρον δὲ λαβὼν ἄλλοθεν ἀργύριον,
Ο οἴκοθεν ἐξέμολον μεμαὼς οὐ πρόσθ᾽ ἐπανελθεῖν
Υ   ὕψιστον κτᾶσθαι πρίν μ᾽ ἀγαθῶν ἄφενος·
Τ τοὔνεκ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐμπορίηισιν ἰὼν εἰς ἄστεα πολλὰ
Ο   ὄλβον ἀλωβήτως εὐρὺν ἐληϊσάμην.
Υ ὑμνητὸς δὲ πέλων πάτρην ἐτέεσσιν ἐσῖγμαι
Ν   νηρίθμοις τερπνός τ᾽ εὐμενέταις ἐφάνην·
Α ἀμφοτέρους δ᾽ οἶκόν τε σεσηπότα πάτριον εἶθαρ
Ρ   ῥέξας ἐκ καινῆς κρέσσονα συντέλεσα
Α αἶάν τ᾽ ἐς τύμβου πεπτωκότος ἄλλον ἔτευξα,
Τ   †τὴν καὶ ζῶν στήλην ἐν ὁδῶι ἐπέθηκα λάλον.†
Ο οὕτως οὖν ζηλωτὰ τάδ᾽ ἔργματα συντελέσαντος
Υ   υἱέες υἱωνοί τ᾽ οἶκον ἔχοιεν ἐμοῦ.

CII 84 = *SEG* 54.1568

XXXIV

οὐκ ἄλλου, παροδῖτα, τόδε μνημεῖον [ἐσαθρεῖς]
  ἀλλ᾽ οὗ τὰν ἀρετὰν οὐδ᾽ ὁ χρόνος μαρανεῖ
Ἐπιγόνου, πρωτεῖα παρὰ ζωοῖσι λιπόντος
  σωφροσύνας μορφᾶς θ᾽ εἵνεκα θειοτάτας·
οὔτε γὰρ ὁ κτείνας Πριάμου παῖδ᾽ Ἕκτορ᾽ Ἀχιλλεύς
  οὔθ᾽ ὁ τὰ λέκτρα φυγὼν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἱππόλυτος
τοιοίδ᾽ οὐκ ἐγένονθ᾽ οἷος γένετ᾽ Ἐπίγονος π[αῖς]
  Ἀνδρέου εὐγενέτα πατρὸς ἴσου βασιλεῖ.
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Ἐπίγονος μνᾶμα ζωιοῖς δια[μίμνει]·
  οὐδ᾽ Ἀχιλεὺς δ᾽ ἔφυγεν μοῖρ[αν †]αι† Θέτιδος

SGO 02/14/11 = *IK* 49.81 = *GVI* 1804

XXXIII. 1 ΕΜΩΓΚΟΚ– 5 ΗΣΧΗΚΑ 6 ΘΗΜΟΣ 10 ΠΡΙΜΜΑΓ–

XXXIV. 1 ΜΝΗΜΗΟΝ [ἐσαθρεῖς] Wolters 3 ΠΡΩΤΗΑ 5 ΚΤΙΝΑΣ 7 π[αῖς] Wolters 9 δια[μίμνει] Merkelbach: δια[σώζει] Anderson 10 ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ ΜΟΙΡ[...]ΑΙ tabella ut uid.

XXXV

τὸν πάντας στολίσαντα καλῶς νεκρούς, Ἀβάσκαντον,
ἄλλος ἐμὲ στολίσας †ΤΗΝΔ† ἐνέθηκε τάφωι·
εἰ δ᾽ ἤιδειν μοῖραν καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ὥραν,
κἀμαυτὸν θνήισκων οὗτος ἂν ἐστόλισα.

SEG 53.1805

XXXVI

Ὕλλε δυσοιώνιστον ἔχων ὄνομ᾽ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον,
ἐκ Μοιρέων ὀλοοῖς νήμασιν οἰχόμενε,
κλαίει μέν σε Τύχη, θρηνεῖ δ᾽ ἀφόρητος Ἀνάγκη
δουλοσύνην, ἥν σοὶ Μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέκλωσεν ἔχειν,
καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς τρόπον ἥμερον, ἦθος ἄμωμον,
γραμματικῆς τ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἄνθεα δρεψάμενον.
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν δὴ πάντ᾽ ἄνεμοι φορέουσιν ἄτακτοι,
σῶμα δὲ σὸν φλογερὸς πυρσὸς ἀπηνθράκισεν.
εἰς τὸ μάτην δέ σ᾽ ἔθρεψεν ἀδελφεὸν ὥστε Μένανδρος
ὄφρ᾽ ἂν ἔχοι βιότου δεξιόχειρα πρόμον·
οὐδέ τιν᾽ εὐφροσύνης ὅρον ἔδρακες οὐδ᾽ ἐνόησας,
γινώσκειν μέλλων δ᾽ ἐξαπίνης ἔθανες.
τῶν σ᾽ ἕνεκεν κλαίω καὶ ὀδύρομαι, ὦ βαρύδαιμον
Ὕλλε, βραχὺν ζωῆς ἐκτελέσαντα χρόνον.
ὦ θνητοί, τί μάτην παιδοτρόφον ἐλπίδ᾽ ἄτακτον
στέργετε τὴν σφαλεροῖς πνεύμασι θρυπτομένην;

SEG 59.1318

XXXVI. 1 ΟΝΟΜΑΑΛΛ– 3 ΔΕΑΦΟΡ– ΑΝΑΝΚΗ 4 ΜΟΙΡΕ{.}ΠΕΚΛ– 5 ΕΙΜΕΡΟΝ 6 ΤΕΑΡΕΤΗΣ 9 ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟ 10 ΒΙΩΤΟΥ 12 ΓΕΙΝΩΣΚ–

XXXVII

παιδοκομησαμένη Ποσιδώνιον ἡ ταλαπενθὴς
ἤνδρωσ᾽ εἰς Ἀΐδην Μόσχιον υἷα φίλον,
ἐλπίδας ἐνθεμένη πυρὶ καὶ τάφωι· ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τέκνωι
ὑψηλὴ τὸ πάρος καὶ φρονέουσα μέγα,
νῦν ὀλίγη καὶ ἄπαις ἐνὶ πένθεσιν· ὦ βίε θνητῶν
ἄστατ᾽, ἐνὶ πτηνῆι κείμενε, λυπρέ, Τύχηι.

μοῖρα λυγρὰ μήπω με βίου σχεδὸν ἔνδοθι βάντα
εἰς ἀπαραιτήτους ἦγ᾽ Ἀΐδαο δόμους,
πικρὰν δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τάφοισιν ἐθήκατο μήτερα πένθει,
κωφὰ λίθοις κωφοῖς δάκρυα μυρομένην·
κουφίζω δὲ τάλαιναν ὅσον χρόνον εἰς ὄναρ ἥκω,
ἠὼς δ᾽ ἀντὶ χαρᾶς δάκρυα πορσύεται.

οὔποτε γηθόσυνος νεκύων τάφος, οὐδ᾽ ὁ πρὸ μοίρης
θνήισκων μητρὶ φίληι τερπνὰ δίδωσιν ἄχη·
[δι]πλὰ δ᾽ ἀπὸ στέρνων ἠμέλξατο πικρὰ τροφείων
πένθεα καὶ στοναχὰς Μόσχιον αἰνοτάτη·
ἠρέμα κωκύσει παρ᾽ ἐμὸν δόμον, οἴ, ἀπὸ μούνου
λειπομένη τέκνου· κείσομ᾽ ἐγὼ δὲ τέφρη.

τηλυγέτωι ἐπὶ παιδὶ παναλγέα κωκύσασα
μήτηρ εἰνοδίην τήνδ᾽ ἀνέθηκε λίθον,
τέρμα δ᾽ ἀνιηρὸν γήρως ἴδεν· ἦ ῥα Μένανδρος
ὄλβιος, ὃς τοίου πρῶτος ἔθνησκε τέκνου.

SGO 08/01/51 = *IK* 18.518 = *GVI* 1923

XXXVII. 11 ΗΚΩΙ 14 ΑΧΗΙ 15 ΤΡΟΦΗΩΝ 18 τέφρη Cougny: ΤΕΦΡΗΙ

XXXVIII

ὃς τὸ πρὶν ἐν ζωῆι Διονύσιος ἦν πανάρεστος
υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου, παῖς [δέ] τοι ἡλικίηι,
τὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίης χώρης ὁ πατὴρ ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις
χρηστομαθῆ, χαρίεντα, φίλον καὶ τίμιον ἀστοῖς,
ἕνδεχ᾽ ἔτη διήνυσε Μοιρῶν ἐνιαυτούς·
ἐκ δένδρου προπεσὼν σφόνδυλον ἐξεράγη
καὶ κεφαλὴν εἴαξε, πατρὸς κόλπους ἐνιδεύσας
αἵματος οἰκτροφόνου ψυχολιπὴς νοτίσιν·
ὃς παίδων πάντων ἡγήσατο, νῦν δ᾽ ὑπὸ γαίηι
κεῖται ὑπὸ σποδιῆι γονεῖσι λιπὼν δάκρυα.
ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὴ βαρύ, "χαῖρε, Διονύσιε" εἶπον, ὁδῖτα.

SGO 05/01/36 = *IK* 23.522 = *GVI* 874

XXXIX

τῆιδε Μενανδρείων ἐπέων δεδαηκότα πάσας
τύξιας εὐιέροις ἀγλαὸν ἐν θυμέλαις
ἐκτέρισαν θεράποντες ἀερσίφρονος Διονύσου,
αὐτῶι κισσοφόρωι τοῦτο χαριζόμενοι.
τοιγὰρ ὅσοι Βρομίωι Παφίηι τε νέοι μεμέλησθε,
δευόμενον γεράων μὴ παρανεῖσθε τάφον,
ἀλλὰ παραστείχοντες ἢ οὔνομα κλεινὸν ὁμαρτῆι
βωστρέετ᾽ ἢ ῥαδινὰς συμπλαταγεῖτε χέρας.

προσεννέπω Στράτωνα καὶ τιμῶ κρότωι.

GVI 681

XXXVIII. 1 ΟΤΟΠΡΙΝ 2 suppl. Peek 4 ΑΣΣΤΡΟΙΣ 5 ἑνδεχέτης Peek 6 ΕΓΔΕΝ– 7 ΗΑΞΕ 8 –ΛΙΠΑΙΣ 10 ΓΟΝ[Ι]ΣΙ

XXXIX. 8 συμπαταγεῖτε Laemmle

XL

τὸν Ἐπιμάχου με παῖδα μὴ παραδράμηις,
ὁδῖτα, †σοιγη†· μεῖνον, οὐ δυσωδία
παρ᾽ ἐμοί σε λυπεῖ τῆς ἀηδοῦς κεδρίας·
σταθεὶς ἐπάκουσον ὀλίγον εὐώδους νεκροῦ.
τῆς γειναμένης ὁ πάππος ἄρξας εὐγενῶς
Ἐπίμαχον ἔσχεν υἱὸν οὐκ [ἐ]ψευσμένον
οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τὸ γένος· ἐπὶ τῶι πατρὶ γὰρ
ἀγορανομίαν ἀπέδωκε τῆι πόλει καλῶς·
οὑμὸς πατήρ ἐσθ᾽ οὗτος· ἐπίσημος πλέον
ἱπποτροφῶν ἐγένετο νίκαις μυρίαις.
ἔγνως μ᾽, ἀνέμησέν σε τὸ στάδιον ταχύ.
μειράκιον ὄντα, μοῦνα δέ με δώδεκα
ἔτη βιώσαντ᾽, εὐθέως εἱ[μαρ]μένης
τέλος πονηρὸν ἢ θανάτου κοινὸς νόμος
ἐμάρανε, Βηχὶ χρησάμενος διακόνωι.
βλέπε, μὴ δακρύσηις, φίλτατ᾽· αὐτὸ τοῦτο γὰρ
μισῶν ἐκέλευσα μηδὲ τὰς καλουμένας
θρηνητρίας μοι τὸν Φιλερμῆν παραλαβεῖν,
εὔνουν ἀδελφὸν ὄντα μοι καὶ γνήσιον,
οὐ τῆι φύσει μὲν (ἧιπερ ἦν ἀνεψιός),
στοργῆι δὲ νικήσαντα καὶ τάξιν πατρός·
τούτωι προσέταξα μή με θρηνεῖν μηδόλως
μηδὲ κατορύξαντ᾽ αὖθις ἀνορύττειν πάλιν,
μιᾶι δὲ καὶ μόνηι με περιβαλεῖν ταφῆι
χωρὶς κεδρίας καὶ τῆς δυσώδους ἀποφορᾶς,
ἵνα μή με φεύγηις οἷα τοὺς ἄλλους νεκρούς.

εἰ καὶ Μοῖρα πρόμοιρον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ἄϊδός με,
τοῖς νεκρῶν θρήνοις οὐκ ἐπιτερπόμεθα,
οὐδὲ ταφαῖς πολλαῖς καὶ θηλυτέροις ὀλοφυρμοῖς·
κοινὸς γὰρ πάντων λυσιμελὴς θάνατος.

Bernand 97 = *GVI* 1975

XL. 1 –ΔΡΑΜΗΣ 2 ΟΔΕΙΤΑ ΣΟΙΓΗ uel ΣΕΙΓΗ, i.e. σιγῆι, Schwartz, Peek: ΣΕΥΘΗ Goossens, Wilhelm: lectio ualde incerta 11 ΜΕΑΝΕ– 12 μοῦνα δέ με lectio incerta 13 –ΕΩΣΙ[…]ΜΕΝΗΣ 16 –ΡΥΣΗΣ 17 ΜΕΙΣΩΝ 26 ΦΕΥΓΗΣ

XLI

[ἔστ]ιν τοὔνομά μοι Ἀφροδίσιος, ὦ παροδῖτα·
εἰμὶ δ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, τῶν δὲ χορ[ῶν] ὁ μέσος·
θνήισκω δ᾽ οἰκτροτάτωι θανάτωι διὰ τὴν ἄλοχόν μου
κλεψίγαμον μιεράν, ἣν περὶ Ζεὺς ὀλέσει·
ταύτης γὰρ λάθριος γαμέτης κἀμὸν γένος αὐχῶν
σφάξε με κἀφ᾽ ὕψους δισκοβόλησε νέον·
δισδέκατον γὰρ ἔτος κατέχοντά με, κάλλος ἔχοντα
κλώσασαι Μοῖραι πέμψαν ἄγαλμ᾽ Ἀΐδηι.

SGO 07/05/04 = *IK* 53.90 = *GVI* 1098

XLII

νὺξ μὲν ἐμὸν κατέχει ζωῆς φάος ὑπνοδοτείρη,
ἀλγεινῶν λύσασα νόσων δέμας ἡδέϊ ὕπνωι,
λήθης δῶρα φέρουσ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ πρὸς τέρμασι Μοίρης·
ψυχὴ δ᾽ ἐκ κραδίης δράμ᾽ ἐς αἴθερον εἴκελος αὔρηι
κοῦφον ἐπαιωροῦσα δρόμωι πτερὸν ἠέρι πολλῶι.
καί με θεῶν μακάρων κατέχει δόμος ἆσσον ἰόντα,
οὐρανίοις τε δόμοισι βλέπω φάος Ἠριγενείης.
τιμὴ δ᾽ ἐκ Διός ἐστι σὺν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
Ἑρμείαο λόγοις· ὅς μ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε χειρῶν
αὐτίκα τιμήσας καί μοι κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἔδωκεν
οἰκεῖν ἐν μακάρεσσι κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,
χρυσείοισι θρόνοισι παρήμενον ἐς φιλότητα·
καί με παρὰ τριπόδεσσι καὶ ἀμβροσίηισι τραπέζαις
ἡδόμενον κατὰ δαῖτα θεοὶ φίλον εἰσορόωσιν,
κρατὸς ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτοιο παρηΐσι μειδιόωντες
[νέκταρ ὅτ᾽ ἐν] προχοαῖσιν ἐπισπένδω μακάρεσσι.

SGO 05/01/64 = *IK* 23.539 = *GVI* 1765

XLI. 1 –ΔΕΙΣΙΟΣ –ΟΔΕΙΤΑ 5 ταύτης Page: –ΗΝ αὐχῶν Welcker: ΛΥΧΩΝ

XLII. 2 ΑΛΤΕΙΝΟΝ apographum 3 προστάγμασι Kaibel 4 ΔΕΚΡΑΔΙΗΣ apographum δράμ᾽ ἐς Jacobs: ΔΙΑΜΕΣ apographum αἴθερον suspectum 5 δρόμωι Kaibel: ΔΡΟΜΟΥ apographum 8 ΤΕΙΜΗ apographum 10 ΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΣ apographum 11 κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν Salmasius: ΚΑΙΟΥΡ– apographum 13 ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΙ apographum 15 παρηΐσι Boeckh: ΠΑΤΡΗΣΙ apographum 16 suppl. Boeckh: alii alia

XLIII

ἔσχατα μερόπων δώματα καὶ τείχεα τύμβοι,
πιστότερα δόμων σώμασιν, δακρύων παραθῆκαι,
ἄφθορα νεκύων κτήματα τὰ μόνα παραμένοντα,
σιγῆς πόλις, οἶκος ἴδιος ἡ μένουσα κοίτη
ᾗι παρατίθεται τὸ κάλλος εἰσφέρουσα μορφὴ
κοὐκέτι μεθ' ὕπνους ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ γέγονε γυμνή.
τίς πέλας ὁ τάφος, καὶ τίνα κατέχει νέκυν ἔνοικον;
στυγνὰ τροπαῖα βίου, λελυμένα τηγνυμένων
σημεῖα, νεκύων στῆλαι, ῥήματα θανόντων,
τοῖς ἀλάλοισι λαλήσατε γράμμασι· τίς βροτὸς
ὧδε κατέλιπεν ὄνομα τὸ σῶμα προδαπανήσας;
Κρίσπος Φαρίης γῆς σταχυητρόφου τε Νείλου
ὑπὸ σήματι τῶιδε κρύπτεται θανὼν πολίτης,
τῆς ἐνρύθμου τραγωιδίας στέφος λαβὼν τὸ πρῶτον.
τὸν χειρονομοῦντα θαυμάσας καὶ δοξάσας ὁ κόσμος
ἄνθος χρύσεον τῶν ἰδίων εἶδε θεάτρων·
οὗ λαμπομένην τὴν χάριν ἔσβεσεν ἀδοκήτως
ὁ τρισὶν δεκάσιν πληρουμέναις λιπὼν ἐνιαυτός.

SGO 09/11/02 = *IK* 47.9

XLIV

ὅρμος ὅδ' ἐστὶ τέλους καταγώγιον, οὐδ' ἀναγωγή,
  οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἔστι τυχεῖν πνεύματος οὐδὲ φάους·
Εὔδημος ναύκληρος ἐπὴν λίπε φωσφόρον ἠῶ
  κείσετ' ἀφημέριος· ναῦς δ' ἀκλύδων φθιμένοις.

SGO 17/19/01.11–14

XLIII. 4 ΣΕΙΓΗΣ 5 ΙΣΦΕΡ – 6 ΚΑΙΟΥΚΕΤΙ 8 πηγνυμένων Şahin 13 ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ

XLV

Πάλλαντος εἴ τιν᾽ οἶσθας ἄνδρ᾽ ἐπώνυμον,
δεκάδαρχον ἔργων Ἀντινόοιο προστάτην,
τούτωι με δαίμων οἰκέτην κατήγαγεν
Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθ᾽ ἐμοὶ φυτοσπόροι.
χροιὴν μὲν ἐν ζωοῖσιν ἦν μελάντερος,
οἷον βολαὶ ποιοῦσιν ἡλιώτιδες.
ψυχὴ δὲ λευκοῖς ἄνθεσιν βρύουσ᾽ ἀεί
εὔνοιαν εἷλκε δεσπότου σαόφρονος
(ψυχῆς γὰρ ἐσθλῆς κάλλος ἐστὶ δεύτερον)
μορφήν τέ μοι μέλαιναν εὖ κατέστεφεν.
οἷος μετ᾽ Ἰνδοὺς ἦλθε μαινόλης θεός,
βωμοῖς ἀνήσων αἰνὰ φῦλα βαρβάρων,
τοιοῦτος ἦν πάροιθεν ἡλιούμενος.
νῦν αὖτε τύμβωι πάντ᾽ ἀποκρύψας ἔχω,
θυμόν τε μορφήν θ᾽, ἥ με τὸ πρὶν ἄμπεχεν,
λοιπὸν δὲ πάντων οὔνομ᾽ ἐστί μοι μόνον·
Ἐπιτυγχάνοντα γάρ με γινώσκοις, ξένε,
πάντων τυχόντα τῶν βροτοῖσιν ἡδέων.
τούτων δ᾽ ἀμοιβὴν δεσπότηι δοίη θεός
βίου τε μακρὴν οἶμον εὔκλειαν θ᾽ ὁμοῦ.

Bernand 26 = *GVI* 1167

XLVI

Πλουτάρχου τόδε σῆμα σαόφρονος, ὃς πολυμόχθου
   κύδεος ἱμείρων ἤλυθεν Αὐσονίην·
ἔνθα πόνοισι πόνους ἀνεμέτρεε τηλόθι πάτρης,
   μουνογενής περ ἐὼν καὶ πατέρεσσι φίλος.
ἀλλ᾽ ἑὸν οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε πόθον μάλα περ μενεαίνων·
   πρόσθε γὰρ ἀστόργου μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου.

GVI 639

XLV. 3 ΟΙΚΕΤΝΝ 10 τε Geffcken: ΤΟ 17 *γινώσκοις* de Ricci: –ΣΚΟΙΟ 20 ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝ

XLVII

Ἰγορίοιο τάφος νεοπενθέος· ὦ τάφος, ὅσσην
συγκλήισας ἀρετῆς εὐκλεΐην κατέχεις.
οὐκ ἴδρις τραγικῆς μούσης, οὐκ εὔλυρος ἀνήρ,
οὐκ ἐπέων ῥητὴρ ἄξια σεῖο φράσει,
οἷος ἔφυς πραπίδας, οἷος χρόας, οἷος ἰούλους
ὅσσων θ' ὡς πρέσβυς κοῦρος ἐὼν κράτεες.
νύμφην δ' ἥν σοι ἐγὼ θεῖος τεὸς ἔτρεφον οἴωι
τλήμονα νυμφεύσων ἥρπασε πρόσθ' Ἀΐδης.
οὐδὲ γάμων ὑμέναιον ἀείσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἄρα μοῦνοι
παρθενίην ἐρατὴν σώσαθ' ἕως Ἀΐδου.

IGUR III 1234 = *GVI* 658

EPITAPHS FOR WOMEN

XLVIII

Παρθενίκας τόδε μνᾶμα Θρασισθένους ἦρι θανοίσας
Δαμόκλει' ἔστασε κασιγνήταν ποθέσαισα.

SEG 48.1067

XLIX

σῆμα Φρασικλείας. κούρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεί,
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.

CEG 24 = *GVI* 68

L

ἦ καλὸν τὸ μνῆμα [πα]τὴρ ἔστησε θανούσ[ηι]
Λεαρέτηι· οὐ γὰρ [ἔτ]ι ζῶσαν ἐσοψόμ[εθα].

CEG 161 = *GVI* 164

XLVII. 2 ΣΥΝΚΛΗΣΑΣ 9 ΥΝΕΝΑΙΟΝ 10 ΣΩΣΑΤΕΩΣ

XLVIII. 2 ΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΙΕΣΤ– ΚΑΣΙΣΣΕΤΑΝ ut uid.

LI

Καλλιμάχου θυγατρὸς τηλαυγὲς μνῆμα ⟨τόδ᾽ ἐστίν⟩,
ἣ πρώτη Νίκης ἀμφεπόλευσε νεών·
εὐλογίαι δ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἔσχε συνέμπορον, ὡς ἀπὸ θείας
Μυρρίνη ἐκλήθη συντυχίας ἐτύμως.

πρώτη Ἀθηναίας Νίκης ἕδος ἀμφεπόλευσεν
ἐκ πάντων κλήρωι Μυρρίνη εὐτυχίαι.

CEG 93 = *GVI* 1961

LII

πιστῆς ἡδείας τε χάριν φιλότητος ἑταίρα
Εὔθυλλα στήλην τήνδ᾽ ἐπέθηκε τάφωι
σῶι, Βιότη· μνήμην γὰρ ἀεὶ δακρυτὸν ἔχουσα
ἡλικίας τῆς σῆς κλαίει ἀποφθιμένης.

CEG 97 = *GVI* 1415

LIII

ἐσλῆς τοῦτο γυναικὸς ὁδὸν πάρα τήνδε τὸ σῆμα
λεωφόρον Ἀσπασίης ἐστὶ καταφθιμένης·
ὀργῆς δ᾽ ἀ[ντ᾽] ἀγαθῆς Εὐω[πί]δης τόδε μνῆμα
αὐτῆι ἐπέστησεν, τοῦ παράκοιτις ἔην.

CEG 167 = *GVI* 97

LIV

πορθμίδος εὐσέλμου μεδέων γέρον, ὃς διὰ πάν[τα]
νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερᾶς πείρατα πλεῖς ποταμοῦ,
ἆρά τιν᾽ Ἀράτας ἄλλαν ἀρετὰν ἴδες, εἴγε
τάνδ᾽ ὑπὸ λυγαίαν ἄγαγες ἀϊόνα;

οὐκέτι τὰν ἁβρόπαιδα πάτραν σὰν Ἑσπερ[ίδ᾽] ὄψηι
οὐδὲ τὸν ἐστέρισας σὸν πόσιν οὐδὲ τέκνωι
στρώσεις νυμφιδίαν εὐνὰν τεῶι· ἦ μάλα δαίμων,
Ἀράτα, κρυερὰν σοί τιν᾽ ἔδειξεν ἀράν.

CEG 680 = *GVI* 1912

LI. 1 suppl. Papademetriou 4 Μυρρίνη ἐκλήθη Lewis, Peek: ΜΥΡΡΙΝΕΗΚΛΗΘΗ

LII. 3 –ΜΗΓΓΑΡ

LIII. 2 ΚΑΤΑΠΘΙΜ– 4 ΑΥΤΗΕΠ–

LIV. 1 ὃς legit Peek, ἃς Oliviero 3 ΤΙΝΑ ΑΡΑΤΑΣ 4 ΤΑΝΔΕΥΠΟ 6 lectio incerta: ἐστέρισας legit Peek, Ἑσπερίδος Oliviero 7 ΤΕΩΗΜΑΛΑ

LV

οὐχὶ πέπλους, οὐ χρυσὸν ἐθαύμασεν ἐν βίωι ἥδε,
   ἀλλὰ πόσιν τ᾽ αὑτῆς σωφροσύ[νην ⏑⏑ ×].
ἀντὶ δὲ σῆς ἥβης, Διονυσία, ἡλικίας τε
   τόνδε τάφον κοσμεῖ σὸς πόσις Ἀντίφ[ιλος].

CEG 573 = *GVI* 1810

LVI

χαῖρε τάφος Μελίτης· χρηστὴ γυνὴ ἐνθάδε κεῖται·
φιλοῦντ᾽ ἀντιφιλοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα Ὀνήσιμον ἦσθα κρατίστη.
τοιγαροῦν ποθεῖ θανοῦσάν σ᾽, ἦσθα γὰρ χρηστὴ γυνή.
καὶ σὺ χαῖρε φίλτατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλει.

CEG 530 = *GVI* 1387

LVII

οὔ σε γάμων πρόπολος, Πλαγγών, Ὑμέναιος ἐν οἴκοις
   ὤλβισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδάκρυσ᾽ ἐκτὸς ἀποφθιμένην·
σῶι δὲ πάθει μήτηρ καταλείβεται, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ αὐτὴν
   λείπουσι θρήνων πενθίδιοι στεναχαί.

CEG 587 = *GVI* 1820

LVIII

ἠϊθέους προλιποῦσα κόρας δισσὰς Ξενόκλεια
   Νικάρχου θυγάτηρ κεῖται ἀποφθιμένη,
οἰκτρὰν Φοίνικος παιδὸς πενθοῦσα τελευτήν,
   ὃς θάνεν ὀκταέτης ποντίωι ἐν πελάγει.

τίς θρήνων ἀδαὴς ὃς σὴν μοῖραν, Ξενόκλεια,
   οὐκ ἐλεεῖ, δισσὰς ἣ προλιποῦσα κόρας
ἠϊθέους παιδὸς θνήισκεις πόθωι, ὃς τὸν ἄνοικτον
   τύμβον ἔχει δνοφερῶι κείμενος ἐν πελάγει;

CEG 526 = *GVI* 1985

LV. 1 ΕΜΒΙΩΙ 2 ΤΕΑΥΤΗΣ σωφροσύ[νην τ᾽ ἐφίλει Brückner 3 ΗΑΙΚΙΑΣ 4 suppl. Brückner

LVI. 2 ΦΙΛΟΥΝΤΑΑΝΤΙ– 3 ΣΕΗΣΘΑ

LVII. 2 –ΡΥΣΕΕΚΤΟΣ ut uid. tabella

LVIII. 6 ἐλεεῖ Weil: ΕΔΕΕΙ 7 ΘΝΕΙΣΚ– 8 ΕΜΠΕΛΑΓ–

LIX

μνησθεῖσ᾽ ὧν εἰς [πίστι]ν ἐμόχθησ᾽ αἰ[ὲν ὁμεύνου]
Ἐλπὶς ἐγώ, τῶν νῦν ἀνταπέχω χάριτας·
οὐδ᾽ ἐς ἄκαρπον ἐγὼ δισσὰς ὠδῖνας ἀνέτλην
ἱμερτῶν τέκνων, ὧν μ᾽ ἀπέκλεισε Τύχη
λήθης ἐκπετάσασα κατὰ βλεφάρων πέπλον ἤδη,
ὅς με κατασκιάσας εἰν Ἀΐδηι κατέχει
οἰκτρὰ μαραινομένην. ἀλλ᾽ ὦ ξένε, τόν μ᾽ ὑπὸ τύμβωι
θέντα πόσιν μύθοις εὐλογέων παρίοις
πιστὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅς με δὶς [ὅσσον]
στέρξας μνημείοις τοῖσδε κατηγλάϊ[σεν].

SEG 4.633 = *GVI* 1127

LX

πάτρην Ἡράκλειαν, ὁδοιπόροι, ἤν τις ἵκηται,
εἰπεῖν· ὠδῖνες παῖδα Πολυκράτεος
ἤγαγον εἰς Ἀΐδην Ἀγαθόκλεαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφραὶ
ἤντησαν τέκνου πρὸς φάος ἐρχομένου.

Bernand 30 = *GVI* 1353

LXI

στέργω καὶ φθιμένα τὸν ἐμὸν πόσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὀθνείαις
φροντίσι θαητὸν τύμβον ἔτευξε βροτοῖς
καὶ τιμαῖς ἰσόμοιρον ἔθηκεν τὰν ὁμόλεκτρον
ἥρωσιν φίλτρων εἵνεκα τερπνοτάτων.
κλεινὸν δ᾽ οὔνομά μοι, ξένε, Κυδίλα· ἐσθλὰ δὲ ναίω
δώματα Φερσεφόνας χώρωι ἐν εὐσεβέων,
πατρὸς κληιζομένα Δαμαινέτου, ἐκ δέ γε μητρός
Κλεισφύσσας, δοιῶν εὐγενετᾶν γονέων.
αἰνείσθω ξυνόμευνος, ἐπεί γέ με κἀποθανοῦσαν
Ζήλων ἀθανάταις ἠγλάϊσεν χάρισιν.

GVI 1128

LIX. 1 suppl. Wilamowitz 4 ΜΕΑΠΕΚΛ– 7 ΤΟΜΜΥΠΟ 9 suppl. Wilamowitz

LXI. 2 φροντίσι Boeckh: –ΙΝ 3 ἔθηκεν Boeckh: –ΚΕ 4 ἥρωσιν Boeckh: –ΣΙ 7 κληιζομένα Boeckh: ΚΛΥΖΟΜΕΝΑ Δαμαινέτου Boeckh: ΔΑΜΑΝ– 9 κἀποθανοῦσαν Boeckh: ΚΑΙΘΑΝ–

LXII

τί πλέον ἐστ᾽ εἰς τέκνα πονεῖν ἢ πρὸς τί προτιμᾶν,
εἰ μὴ Ζῆνα κριτὴν ἕξομεν, ἀλλ᾽ Ἀΐδην;
δὶς δέκα γάρ μ᾽ ἐκόμησε πατὴρ ἔτη, οὐδ᾽ ἐτέλεσσα
νυμφιδίων θαλάμων εἰς ὑμέναια λέχη,
οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ παστὸν ἐμὸν δέμας ἤλυθεν, οὐδ᾽ ἐκρότησαν
πάννυχ᾽ ὁμηλικίη κεδροπαγεῖς σανίδας.
ὤλετο παρθενίη σειρὴν ἐμή· αἰαῖ ἐκείνην
Μοῖραν, ἰή, τίς ἐμοὶ νήματα πίκρ᾽ ἔβαλεν.
μαστοὶ μητρὸς ἐμῆς κενεὸν γάλα τοί μ᾽ ἐκόμησαν,
οἷς χάριν οὐ δυνάμην γηροτρόφον τελέσαι·
ὡς ὄφελον θνήισκουσα λιπεῖν πατρὶ τέκνον, ὅπως μὴ
αἰῶνα μνήμης πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχηι.
κλαύσατε Λυσάνδρην, συνομήλικες, ἣν Φιλονίκη
καὶ Εὔδημος κούρην †τηνˆ† ἐτέκοντο μάτην.
τοῖσιν ἐμὸν στείχουσι τάφον μέγ᾽ ἐνεύχομαι ὑμῖν,
κλαύσατ᾽ ἄωρον ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν ἄγαμον.

Bernand 83 = *GVI* 1680

LXIII

"τὴν ὁσίαν χαίρειν" πολιήτιδες εἴπατε βάκχαι
"ἱρείην"· χρηστῆι τοῦτο γυναικὶ θέμις.
ὑμᾶς κεἰς ὄρος ἦγε καὶ ὄργια πάντα καὶ ἱρά
ἤνεικεν πάσης ἐρχομένη πρὸ πόλεως.
τοὔνομα δ᾽ εἴ τις ξεῖνος ἀνείρεται· Ἀλκμειωνίς
ἡ Ῥοδίου, καλῶν μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη.

SGO 01/20/21 = *GVI* 1344

LXIV

εἰ καὶ βουκόλοι ἄνδρες ὁδὸν διαμείβετε τήνδε,
καὶ ποίμνας οἴων φέρβετε μηλονόμοι,
ἀλλὰ σύ, Μουσείοις καμ[άτο]ις τεθραμμέν᾽ ὁδῖτα,
ἴσχε καὶ αὐδήσας σῆμ᾽ Ἀλίνης ἄπιθι·
"χαῖρ᾽" εἰπὼν δὶς [κα]ὐτὸς ἔχοις τόδε. τέκνα δὲ λείπω
τρίζυγα καὶ ποθέοντ᾽ ἄνδρα λέλοιπα δόμοις.

Bernand 34 = *GVI* 1312

LXII. 6 ὁμηλικίη Lefebvre: –ΚΙΗΣ 8 ἰή, τίς Crönert: ΙΗΗΤΙΣ 9 ΜΕΕΚΟΜΗΣΑΝ 11 ΘΝΗΣΚΟΥΣΑ 14 ζῆν ἐτέκοντο Crönert: τὴνδ᾽ ἐτέκοντο Lefebvre

LXIII. 1 XAIREIM 4 ΗΝΕΙΚΕΜ 6 ΚΑΛΩΜ

LXIV. 5 [κα]ὐτὸς Peek: [δ᾽ α]ὐτὸς Peek, Fraser et Maas: possis etiam [γ᾽ α]ὐτὸς 6 –ΟΝΤΑΑΝΔΡΑ

LXV

οἰκτρὰ πατὴρ ἐπὶ σοὶ βάλε δάκρυα, Πουλυδαμαντί,
ἡνίκα κυανέαν πορθμίδ᾽ ἔβης νεκύων·
οὐδέ τι πατρὶ φίλωι νεαροὺς ἐπὶ γούνασι παῖδας
κηδεμόνας θῆκας γήραος οὐλομένου,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιπορφυρέη νεφέλη χαρίεντα μέλαθρα,
λήθη σὴν γενεὴν φάρεσιν ἐσκίασε·
μητρὶ δὲ γηραιᾶι λίπες ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα
ἀνδρί τε· κωκύει δ᾽ οἶκον ἔρημον ὁρῶν.

SGO 01/20/38 = *GVI* 1536

LXVI

αἱμύλα κωτίλλουσα τεοὺς γενέτας ἀτίταλλες
ἱεῖσα τραυλὴν γῆρυν ἀπὸ στόματος·
ἀλλά σε τὴν διέτη κόλπων ἀπὸ μητέρος εἷλεν
ἀστεμφὴς Ἀΐδης, μείλιχε Νικόπολι·
χαῖρε, βρέφος, κούφη δὲ σέθεν περὶ σῶμα καλύπτοι
κόνις, Σαραπίωνος ὄβριμον θάλος.

SGO 05/01/52 = *IK* 23.520 = *GVI* 1512

LXVII

δεινή μ᾽ εἰς Ἀΐδην μοῖρ᾽ ἤγαγεν, οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ μητρὸς
χειρῶν ἡ μελέη νυμφίδιον θάλαμον
ἤλυθον οὐδὲ γάμου περικαλλέος ὕμνον ἄκουσα
οὐδὲ τέκνων γλυκερὸν θρῆνον ἔμαξα πέπλοις.
[Σ]ύμη δ᾽ Ἑρμογένου κικλήσκομαι. ἀλλὰ σὺ χαῖρε,
ξεῖν᾽, ὃς ὁδοῦ βαίνεις ἡδυτάτην ἀτραπόν·
ἄγγελλ᾽ εἰς οἴκους τὴμῆι κακοδαίμονι μητρί,
καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ λύπαις καὶ δακρύοισι φρένας
τρύχειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μούνηι τόδε Μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέκλωσεν
κῆδος· ὁρῶ δ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἐμοῦ κρέσσονας εἰν Ἀΐδηι.

GVI 947

LXV. 5 ἐπὶ πορφυρέη Peek 6 ΣΗΓΓΕΝ– 8 ΔΕΟΙΚΟΝ

LXVII. 5 ΔΕΕΡΜΟΓ– 6 ΞΕΙΝΕΟΣ 7 ΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΕΙΣ

LXVIII

λάϊνά σοι τύμβων δωμήματα Θεῖος ἔτευξα,
Ἀτθίς, ὁ δὶς τῆς σῆς ἡλικίης προγέρων,
εὐξάμενος χειρῶν ἀπὸ σῶν κόνιν· ἄκριτε δαῖμον,
ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἔσβεσας ἠέλιον.

Ἀτθίς, ἐμοὶ ζήσασα καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πνεῦμα λιποῦσα,
ὡς πάρος εὐφροσύνης νῦν δακρύων πρόφασι,
ἁγνά, πουλυγόητε, τί πένθιμον ὕπνον ἰαύεις,
ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ στέρνων οὔποτε θεῖσα κάρα,
Θεῖον ἐρημώσασα τὸν οὐκέτι; σοὶ γὰρ ἐς Ἅιδαν
ἦλθον ὁμοῦ ζωᾶς ἐλπίδες ἁμετέρας.

οὐκ ἔπιον Λήθης Ἀϊδωνίδος ἔσχατον ὕδωρ,
ὥς σε παρηγορίην κἀν φθιμένοισιν ἔχω,
Θεῖε, πλέον δύστηνε, γάμων ὅτι τῶν ἀμιάντων
νοσφισθεὶς κλαίεις χηροσύνην θαλάμων.

τοῦτο σαοφροσύνας γέρας Ἀτθίδι τᾶι πολυκλαύτωι
οὐκ ἶσον οὐδ᾽ ἀρετᾶς ἄξιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθέμαν
μνάμαν εἰς αἰῶνα φερώνυμον αὐτὸς ἀνάγκαι
Θεῖος νηπιάχωι πνεῦμα χαριζόμενος.
οἴσω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο χάριν σέο καὶ τὸν ἀπηνῆ
ὄμμασι τοῖς στυγνοῖς ὄψομαι ἠέλιον.

SGO 01/01/07 = *IK* 41.303 = *GVI* 1874

LXIX

μή μοι πεῖν φέρεθ᾽ ὧδε μάτην, πέποται γάρ, ὅτ᾽ ἔζων,
μηδὲ φαγεῖν· ἀρκεῖ· φλήναφός ἐστι τάδε.
εἰ δ᾽ ἕνεκεν μνήμης τε καὶ ὧν ἐβίωσα σὺν ὑμῖν
ἢ κρόκον ἢ λιβάνους δῶρα φέρεσθε, φίλοι,
τοῖς μ᾽ ὑποδεξαμένοις ἀντάξια ταῦτα διδόντες·
ταῦτ᾽ ἐνέρων· ζώντων δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἔχουσι νεκροί.

GVI 1363

LXVIII. 2 προτερῶν Kaibel 6 εὐφροσύνας Kaibel 9 ΑΔΑΝ 16 ΟΥΔΕΑΡΕΤΑΣ

LXIX. 3 ΥΜΕΙΝ

LXX

ἀστὴν Ναυκράτεως Μενελάου πατρός, ὁδῖτα,
ξείνην εὔξεινος χθὼν ἔχει Ἡρακλέους,
ὠμοτόκοις ὠδῖσι πανυστατίοιο λοχείης
δμηθεῖσαν Μοιρέων νήμασιν οἰκτροτάτοις,
εἴκοσι καὶ τρὶς πέντ᾽ ἐτέων· χείρεσσι δ᾽ ὅμευνος
Ἁρμόδιος κτερίσας τῶιδ᾽ ἐπέκρυψε τάφωι,
Ἀρσινόην, Μάτρωνα, Θεμιστὼ τέκνα λιποῦσαν
οἷς εἴη λιπαροῦ γήραος ἄχρι μολεῖν.
ἀλλὰ σὺ "χρηστή, χαῖρ᾽, Ἀμμωνία" ὡς ἔθος εἰπὼν
σώιζου τὸν σαυτοῦ πρὸς δόμον ἀβλαβέως.

ἄλλο.

πάτρης καὶ γονέων σ᾽ οὑμὸς πόθος ἠλλοτρίωσεν·
σοῦ δ᾽ ἐμὲ τῆς μελέης ἐστέρεσεν θάνατος,
πένθος ἐμοῖσι δόμοις καὶ δάκρυα λυγρὰ λιπούσης
τέκνων τ᾽ ὀρφανικῶν νήπιον ἡλικίην.
λυπρὸν ἀεὶ βιοτᾶς, Ἀμμωνία, ἐστὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
Ἁρμοδίωι· τί δ᾽ ἐγὼ σοῦ δίχα φῶς ἔθ᾽ ὁρῶ;

ἄλλο.

λῆξον στερνοτύποιο γόου, παῦσαί με δακρύων,
ὦ πόσι, μὴ κωφῶι τύμβωι ἐπιστενάχει.
σῶν ψαῦσαι λεχέων Ἀμμωνίαι οὐκέτ᾽ ἐφικτόν,
Ἁρμόδιε, στυγερὸς γάρ με κέκευθ᾽ Ἀΐδης.
οἰκία μοι νεκύων· ἀνεπίστροφα πρὸς φάος ἠοῦς
ταῦτα· μάτην λυπροῖς πένθεσιν ἐνδέδεσαι·
στέργε τὰ μέχρι τέλους μοίρης, δόσιν οὔτινι φυκτὸν
ἀνθρώπων· πᾶσιν δ᾽ ἤδ᾽ ὑπόκειται ὁδός.

Bernand 33 = *GVI* 1873

LXX. 13 λιπούσης Schwartz: ΛΙΠΟΥΣΑΝ 21–2 de interpunctione non constat 23 de interpunctione non constat

LXXI

στέλλεο Περσεφόνης ζᾶλον, χρυσέα Στρατονίκ[α]·
σὰν γὰρ ἄναξ ἐνέρων ἅρπασεν ἀγλαΐαν,
χηρώσας ὁμόλεκτρον Ἀριστώνακτα, καὶ οἰκτρὰν
Εἰράναν ἁβρᾶς παιδὸς ἀπορφανίσας,
καὶ πατέρ᾽ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυνομώνυμον· οὐδέ σε νούσων
τακεδόνες, θανάτου δ᾽ ὠκὺ δάμασσε βέλος
ἁγναῖς ἐν θαλίαις Δαμάτερος, αἷς ἔνι Κούραν
μάρψεν ὁ καὶ τὸ τεὸν κάλλος ἑλὼν Ἀΐδας.

SGO 03/06/07 = *GVI* 1551

LXXII

—◡◡]ή, καλέω σε. τί τὸ ξένον; οὐκ ἐσαΐεις
ἀνδρὸ]ς ὀδυρομένοιο καὶ ἄλλιτον ἄλγος ἔχοντος;
ν]αὶ λίτομαι, γλυκερὴν ἀπὸ χείλεος ἔκβαλε φωνὴν
ὡς πάρος. οὐ λαλέεις καὶ ὀρίνομαι, ἡ δὲ σιωπὴ
μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλουσα πολὺ πλέον ἄλγος ἀέξει.
εἰ θάνες, ὡς ἐνέπουσι, τί μοι βιότοιο τὸ κέρδος;
νόσφι σέθεν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζωὴ θανάτοιο χερείων.

GVI 1920

LXXIII

τέκνον ἐμὸν Παῦλα, φθινύθω δακρύοις σε βοῶσα,
οἷά τις ἀλκυὼν παῖδας ὀδυρομένη·
κωφαὶ δ᾽ ἀνταχοῦσι πέτραι καὶ τύμβος ἀπεχθής,
ὃς τὸν ἐμῶν τοκετῶν ἔσβεσεν ἠέλιον·
ἀεὶ δ᾽ ὡς Νιόβη πέτρινον δάκρυ πᾶσιν ὁρῶμαι
ἀνθρώποις ἀχέων πένθος ἔχουσα μόνη.
ὦ τάφε καὶ δαίμων, μικρὸν μέθες εἰς φάος ἐλθεῖν
παῖδαν ἐμὴν Παῦλαν, δοῖς δέ μοι εἰσιδέειν·
οὔ σοι Φερσεφόνη τόδε μέμψεται οὐδέ †ΤΙΣΑΔΑΗ†
ἣν τόσον †ΑΝΤΗΙΣΕΣ† παῖδαν ἐμὴν κατ᾽ ὄναρ.

SGO 05/01/55 = *IK* 23.549 = *GVI* 1545

LXXII. 1 εὖνις ἐμ]ή Laemmle 2 suppl. Graindor 3 suppl. Peek 4 ΟΡΕΙΝΟΜΑΙ

LXXIII. 1 ΦΘΙΝΙΘΟ δακρύοις σε βοῶσα Peek: –ΟΙΣΕΒΟ– 2 οἷα Peek: ΤΟΙΑ 3 κωφαὶ … πέτραι καὶ Keil: ΚΩΦΕ … ΠΕΤΡΕΚΕ: κωφὴ … πέτρη καὶ Peek ΤΥΝΒΟΣ 6 ΑΧΗΩΝ 7 ΙΣΦΑΟΣ 8 δὸς Peek ΕΙΣΙΔΕΙΝ 10 ἀνστήσῃς Keil παῖδαν Keil: ΠΑΙΔΑ

LXXIV

εἰς ἴα σου, Πώμπτιλλα, καὶ ἐς κρίνα βλαστήσειεν
   ὀστέα, καὶ θάλλοις ἐν πετάλοσι ῥόδων
ἡδυπνόου τε κρόκου καὶ ἀγηράτου ἀμαράντου
   κεἰς καλὰ βλαστήσαις ἄνθεα λευκοΐου
ὡς ἴσα Ναρκίσσωι τε πολυκλαύτωι θ᾽ Ὑακίνθωι
   καὶ σὸν ἐν ὀψιγόν[οις] ἄνθος ἔχοι τι χρόνος.

ἥδε γάρ, ἡνίκα πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλυε Φίλιππος,
   — —]ν ἀκροτάτοις χείλεσι προσπελάσας
στᾶσα λιποψυχοῦντος ὑπὲρ γαμέτου Πώμπτιλλα
   τὴν κείνου ζωὴν ἀντέλαβεν θανάτου.

οἵην συζυγίαν ἔτεμεν θεός, ὥστε θανεῖν μὲν
   Πώμπτιλλαν γλυκεροῦ λύτρον ὑπὲρ γαμέτου,
ζῆν δ᾽ ἄκοντα Φίλιππον, ἐπευχόμενον διὰ παντὸς
   συγκεράσαι ψυχῆι πνεῦμα φιλανδροτάτηι.

CIL x.2 7567–8 = *GVI* 2005.34–47

LXXV

τὴν κυανῶπιν Μοῦσαν, ἀηδόνα τὴν μελίγηρυν
   λιτὸς ὅδ᾽ ἐξαπίνης τύμβος ἄναυδον ἔχει,
καὶ κεῖται λίθος ὣς ἡ πάνσοφος, ἡ περίβωτος·
   Μοῦσα καλή, κούφη σοὶ κόνις ἥδε πέλοι.

τίς μου τὴν Σειρῆνα κακῶς κακὸς ἥρπασε δαίμων,
   τίς μου τὴν γλυκερὴν ἥρπασ᾽ ἀηδονίδα,
νυκτὶ μιῆι ψυχραῖσιν ἄφαρ σταγόνεσσι λυθεῖσαν;
   ὤλεο, Μοῦσ᾽, ἐτάκη δ᾽ ὄμματ᾽ ἐκεῖνα σέο,
καὶ στόμα πέφρακται τὸ χρύσεον· οὐδὲν ἔτ᾽ ἐν σοὶ
   λείψανον οὐ κάλλους, οὐ σοφίης πέλεται.
ἔρρετε, μέρμηραι θυμαλγέες· ἄμμοροι ἐσθλῆς
   ἐλπίδος ἄνθρωποι· πάντα δ᾽ ἄδηλα τύχης.

IGUR III 1305 = *GVI* 1938

LXXIV. 7 ἥδε γάρ lectio ualde incerta 14 ΣΥΝΚΕΡΑΣΑΕ

LXXV. 2 ΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΤΥΝΒΟΣ 5 κακῶς κακὸς Gruter: ΚΑΚΟΣΚΑΚΟΣ 6 ΗΡΠΑΣΕΑΗΔ– 8 ΜΟΥΣΑΕΤΑΚ– ΟΜΜΑΤΑΕΚ– 10 ΚΑΛΟΥΣ 11 ΕΡΡΕΤΑΙ

LXXVI

ἆ βάλε τοι Μοῦσαι σὰ χαρίσια, κάμμορε νύμφη
Οἰνάνθη, παίδων ἐπὶ γούνασι σεῖο τεθέντων
φωνῆσαι λοχίης τε καλὸν νόμον Εἰλειθυίης,
μητρὶ τεῆι καὶ πατρὶ κεχαρμένα δῶρα πόσει τε.
νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν κρυεραῖσιν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισιν ἰαύεις
Κωκυτοῦ κελάδοντος ἀνὰ δρόσον, οὐδέ σ᾽ ἐγείρει
ἀεναὲς κελάδημα φίλης ὀπός, ὧιτέ σε μήτηρ
ὄρνις ὅκως γεγόηκε, σὺ δὲ λίθος οὐδὲν ἀκούεις,
ἀλλὰ μελανδῖναί σε περὶ ῥόες Ὠκεανοῖο
εἰλεῦνται, ψυχαὶ δὲ καταχθονίων ἀλιβάντων
σμερδαλέον βρομέουσι, σὺ δὲ θρόον οὐχὶ τοκήων,
οὐ πόσιος νενόηκας, ἐπεὶ πίες ἆ Στύγα Λήθης.
τίς μακάρων νόμος οὗτος †ΙΜΑΝΣΡΕΣΗΕΝΥΚΩΡΧΗ†
οὐχὶ κακαὶ θνήισκουσι προμοιρίες, οὐχὶ τοκήων
οὐτιδανῶν, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἀριπρεπὲς εἶδος ἔχουσα
ἢ γένος; ἦ ῥα τόδ᾽ ἐσθλὸν ἐτήτυμον ἀνδράσι Πυθώ,
χρύσεον ὅττι γένεθλον ἐς Ἀΐδα πρῶτον ὁδεύειν.

GVI 1684

LXXVI. 1 sic Korsch: ΜΟΥΣΑΧΑΡΕΙΣΙΑ: possis etiam Μοῦσαι τὰ χαρίσια 2 παίδων Korsch: ΠΑΛΩΝ 3 φώνησαν Wilamowitz –ΕΙΘΥΗΣ 4 ΚΕΚΑΡΜΕΝΑ πόσει τε Korsch: ΠΟΛΕΠΗ 5 νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Latyschev: ΝΥΝΝΕΣΥΜΕΝ ἰαύεις Jernstedt: ΜΥΕΙΣ: ἀλύεις Wilamowitz 6 κελάδοντος Latyschev: –ΟΝΤΟΠ 7 φίλης ὀπός Latyschev: ΥΙΛΗΣΟΚΙΟΣ 8 γεγόηκε σὺ Latyschev: ΓΕΓΟΜΚΕΙΥ 9 ἀλλὰ μελανδῖναι Latyschev: ΑΛΑΜΜΕΛΑΝΔΕΙΝΗ ῥόες Latyschev: ΡΟΣΣ ut uid. 10 ΚΑΤΑΚΘΟΝ– ἀλιβάντων Latyschev: ΑΜΒΑΝΤΩΝ 11 ΖΜΕΡΔ– θρόον Latyschev: ΦΡΣΟΣ ut uid. 15 ἀλλ᾽ εἴ Latyschev: ΑΛΓΕΙ 17 ὁδεύειν Korsch: ΟΔΕΥΣΙΝ

LXXVII

φράζε τίνος γονέως, σέο τ᾽ οὔνομα καὶ πόσιν αὔδα,
καὶ χρόνον εἰπέ, γύναι, καὶ πόλεως ὅθεν εἶ.
"Νίκανδρος γενέτωρ, πατρὶς Πάρος, οὔνομα δ᾽ ἦν μοι
Σωκράτεα· φθιμένην Παρμενίων δ᾽ ἔθετο
σύλλεκτρος τύμβωι με, χάριν δέ μοι ὤπασε τήνδε,
εὐδόξου ζωᾶς μνῆμα καὶ ἐσσομένοις.
καί με πικρὰ νεαροῖο βρέφους ἀφύλακτος Ἐρεινύς
αἱμορύτοιο νόσωι τερπνὸν ἔλυσε βίον·
οὔθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐμαῖς ὠδῖσι τὸ νήπιον ἐς φάος ἦγον,
ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ γαστρὶ φίλαι κεύθεται ἐν φθιμένοις.
τρισσᾶς ἐκ δεκάδος δὲ πρὸς ἓξ ἐτέων χρόνον ἦλθον,
ἀνδρὶ λιποῦσα τέκνων ἀρσενόπαιδα γονάν·
δισσὰ δὲ πατρὶ λιποῦσα καὶ ἱμερτῶι συνομεύνωι,
αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τριτάτωι τόνδε λέλογχα τόπον."
ἀλλὰ σὺ παμβασίλεια θεά, πολυώνυμε Κούρα,
τήνδ᾽ ἄγ᾽ ἐπ᾽ εὐσεβέων χῶρον ἔχουσα χερός·
"τοῖς δὲ παρερχομένοισι θεὸς τέρψιν τινὰ δώιη
εἴπασιν χαίρειν Σωκρατέαν κατὰ γῆς".

Διονύσιος Μάγνης ποιητὴς ἔγραψεν

GVI 1871

LXXVIII

οὐχ ὁσίως ἥρπαξες ὑπὸ [χθόνα], κοίρανε Πλουτεῦ,
πενταέτη νύμφην πᾶσιν ἀγαλλομένην·
οἷα γὰρ ἀρχόμενον ῥόδον εὔπνοον εἴαρος ὥρηι
ἐξέτεμες ῥίζης, πρὶν χρόνον ἐκτελέσηι.
ἀλλ᾽ ἄγ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ Φίλτατε, μηκέτ᾽ ὀδυρμοῖς
ἱμερτῆι κούρηι σπένδετε μυρόμενοι·
εἶχεν γὰρ χάριν, εἶχεν ἐφ᾽ ἡδυχρόοισι προσώποις,
αἰθέρος ὥστε μένειν ἀθανάτοισι δόμοις.
τοῖς πάρος οὖν μύθοις πιστεύσατε· παῖδα γὰρ ἐσθλὴν
ἥρπασαν ὡς τερπνὴν Ναΐδες, οὐ Θάνατος.

IGUR III 1344 = *GVI* 1595

LXXVII. 1 ΑΥΔ[3 ΔΕΗΝΜΟΙ 4 ΔΕΕΘΕΤΟ 7 πικρὰ νεαροῖο Reiske: ΠΙΚΡΑΝΝΕΑΡΟΙΟ 9 ΩΔΕΙΣΙ 10 ΕΜΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΙΣ 14 ΛΕΛΟΝΧΑ 15 –ΒΑΣΙΛΗΑ 16 ΤΗΝΔΕΑΓΕΕΠ

LXXVIII. 1 [χθόνα] Wesseling 4 ΡΕΙΖΗΣ 6 ΕΙΜΕΡΤΗ

LXXIX

αὐτὸς Ζεὺς Κρονίδης [ὑψ]ίζυγος αἰθέρι ναίων
σῶμα πυρὶ φλέξας στέρνων ἐξείλετο θυμόν·
οὐκ ἤμ[ην] βροτός· [ἰ]θὺ παρέστ[ην μ]ητέρι σεμνῆι
νυκτὶ μελαινοτάτηι ἑρμηνεύουσα τάδ᾽ οὕτως·
"μῆτερ Μελιτίνη, θρῆνον λίπε, παῦε γόοιο,
ψυχῆς μνησαμένη, ἥν μοι Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος
τεύξας ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα
ἁρπάξας ἐκόμι[σσ᾽] εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερό[εν]τα".

SGO 04/05/07 = *GVI* 1993

LXXX

ἣν ἐσορᾶις στήλην μεστὴν ἐσορᾶις, φίλε, πένθους·
 κάτθανε γὰρ Ζωὴ οὔνομα κλησκομένη
ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης λείψασα γονεῦσι δάκρυα
καὶ πάπποις τὰ ὅμοι᾽, οὗπερ γαίης λίπε πένθη.
ἣν δὲ γάμωι ζευχθεῖσα κύησέ τε τέκνον ἄωρον,
οὗ τεχθέντος ἄφωνος λίπεν φάος ἠελίοιο·
Πηνειὸς δὲ πατὴρ χεύων δάκρυ θῆκε τόδ᾽ ἔργον
σύν τε φίληι ἀλόχωι, οἷς ἦν τέκνον ἕν τε κοὐκ ἄλλο·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσχον τέκνον φωτὶ λιπούσης,
 ἀλλ᾽ ἄτεκνοι λύπηι καρτέρεον βίοτον.

SEG 45.641

LXXXI

οὐκ ἔθανες, Πρώτη, μετέβης δ᾽ ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον,
καὶ ναίεις μακάρων νήσους θαλίηι ἔνι πολλῆι,
ἔνθα κατ᾽ Ἠλυσίων πεδίων σκιρτῶσα γέγηθας
ἄνθεσιν ἐν μαλακοῖσι, κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων·
οὐ χειμὼν λυπεῖ σ᾽, οὐ καῦμ᾽, οὐ νοῦσος ἐνοχλεῖ,
οὐ πεινῆις, οὐ δίψος ἔχεις· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ποθεινὸς
ἀνθρώπων ἔτι σοι βίοτος· ζώεις γὰρ ἀμέμπτως
αὐγαῖς ἐν καθαραῖσιν Ὀλύμπου πλησίον ὄντως.

IGUR III 1146 = *GVI* 1830

LXXIX. 8 ΑΣΤΕΡΟ[..]ΤΑΣ

LXXX. 4 ΟΜΟΙΑΟΥ– 5 ΖΕΥΧΘΕΣΑ τε τέκνον Tziafalias: ΤΕΕΚΝΟΝ 7 δάκρυ θῆκε Tziafalias: ΔΑΚΡΘΗΚΕ 9 ἐξαῦτις Chaniotis φῶς λιπ- Chaniotis

LXXXI. 6 πεινῆις Scaliger: ΠΙΝΗΣ

COMMENTARY

EPITAPHS FOR MEN

1 *CEG* 145 = *GVI* 73

A hexameter poem from Corcyra, written *boustrophēdon* in the old Corinthian script (Corcyra was a Corinthian foundation), showing very clearly the continued presence of digamma in the alphabet. The date is probably the end of the seventh or very beginning of the sixth century BC. The Aratthos or Arachthos is the main river of Epirus, flowing south into the Gulf of Ambracia (see Strabo 7.7.8, Dionysius 'son of Calliphon' *Perieg.* 41–2, *RE* 2.370), and the fighting in which Arniadas was killed may have been connected to the gradual establishment by the Corinthian Cypselids of control of the gulf during the second half of the seventh century (see Ps.-Scymnus 453–5 with Marcotte's n., Strabo 10.2.8).

The Homeric flavour of the epitaph is very marked in both language (e.g. genitive in -οιο, adverbial πολλόν) and theme; the fighting 'by the ships' sets Arniadas in an Iliadic context, and we may be particularly reminded of the epitaph Hector creates for a hero killed by him (*Il.* 7.89–90; above, p. 6). There is an excellent photo of the inscription in the title pages of Peek 1960 (see also Jeffery 1990: Plate 46.11).

Bibl. Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 29–30, Lumpp 1963, Skiadas 1967: 14–17, Ecker 1990: 69–88.

1 [1] For the structure of the verse cf. *422*, *CEG* 132 (Corinth, seventh century BC) Δεινία τόδε [σᾶμα], τὸν ὤλεσε πόντος. **Ἀρνιάδα:** the standard West Greek gen. sing. of a masculine word in -ας /-ης. **χαροπός** is used in early epic of wild animals – lions (*Od.* 11.611 (where the context is very martial), Hes. *Theog.* 321, *HHHerm.* 569), wolves (*HHAphr.* 70) – but occurs in *Il.* only as a proper name (2.672, cf. 11.426 Χάροψ). Later it was taken to refer to a feature of the eyes, perhaps a colour or 'flashing', see *LfgrE*, Maxwell-Stuart 1981; 'flashing' would suit Ares, if that sense was possible at this early date. Alternatively, the meaning might simply be 'wild, raging': an epithet of animals is transferred to the god of war, who is often elsewhere θοῦρος (*11*n.). **Ἄρης:** see *11*n.

2 [2] βαρνάμενον = μαρνάμενον; forms of this verb with initial β are found also elsewhere in early inscriptions, cf. *CEG* 6.2, 82.2, 155, Buck 1955: 74–5, K–B I 155. For the ideal which Arniadas here embodies cf. e.g. Tyrtaeus fr. 12.32–4 ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος, / ὅντιν᾽ ἀριστεύοντα

μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε / γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσηι. **παρὰ ναυσίν:** παρὰ νηυσί is an Iliadic formula (48 exx., the vast majority in this verse-position). **Ἀράθθοιο ῥοϝαῖσι:** cf. the Homeric ποταμοῖο ῥοῇισι (*Il.* 16.669, *Od.* 6.216); for the spelling with -θθ- see the name Ἀραθθίων at *SEG* 41.540A.9. The initial syllable is here long, as it is in Ἀραθθίων, but short in two later verse-attestations (Call. fr. 646, Lyc. *Alex.* 409).

3 [3] πολλόν: adverbial, cf. *CEG* 118.2 (fifth century BC, Thessaly) ... πολλὸν ἀριστεύων ἔθανε; see LSJ πολύς III 2b. **ἀριστεύοντα** occurs 3x in this position in *Il.*, including 7.90 (above, p. 6). The inscribed ἀριστεύτοντα may be a simple error, or the intrusive T may be an error for digamma, acting, as in the phrase which follows, as a glide separating vowels; see Buck 1955: 33–4. **κατὰ στονόϝεσσαν ἀϝϋτάν:** cf. *Od.* 11.383 (Odysseus' companions) οἳ Τρώων μὲν ὑπεξέφυγον κατὰ στονόεσσαν ἀϋτήν.

II *CEG* 13 = *GVI* 1226

A poem for Tettichos, presumably an Athenian, as the stone was found in the city; the date is around the middle of the sixth century BC, and this is one of the very earliest elegiac epitaphs. Tettichos was killed in battle, but buried privately, not in the public group burials which were to become common later. It is very unusual for an epitaph of such an early date not to make specific reference to the tomb on which it is inscribed.

Bibl. Bowra 1938: 177–9, Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 124–5, Richter 1961: 25, Guarducci in Richter 1961: 158–9, Jeffery 1962: 133 (with photo, Pl. 38), Skiadas 1967: 36–40, Day 1989: 17–22, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 147–8, Ferrandini Troisi–Cagnazza 2010, González González 2019: 47–9.

1–2 [4–5] The tombstone first issues a general instruction in the third person to all passers-by. The effect is somewhat like an 'official' public announcement of what everyone should do, cf. *GVI* 1231.1 (Kallatis, third century BC) μή τις ἀδάκρυτος παρίτω τόδε σῆμα κτλ. The switch in the second couplet to the second-person plural (see 4n.) seems almost to draw attention to the formality of the initial third-person imperative; in translation, some supplement such as '(whoever) <comes here>', '(whoever) <sees this tomb>', will make the sequence easier.

1 [4] [ἀστό]ς ... ξένος: a standard opposition, cf. e.g. V, *CEG* 112, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.78, Pl. *Apol.* 30a3–4, and one which could still be played with in late antiquity, cf. Macedonius, *AP* 9.648. ἀστός here amounts to 'citizen', but 'man of Athens' captures the opposition to ξένος; Pl. *Rep.* 8.563a1

has three classes, ἀστός, μέτοικος and ξένος. ἀνήρ, picked up in the following verse, suggests reasons why everyone should stop: shared mortality with Tettichos and the fact that he is an exemplary paradigm of an ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. **ἄλλοθεν ἐλθών:** cf. *Od.* 7.32–3 (Athena on the Phaeacians) οὐ γὰρ ξείνους … / … φιλέουσ᾽, ὅς κ᾽ ἄλλοθεν ἔλθηι, 7. 52 ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι at verse-end, 17.382, 20.360.

2 [5] An almost identical pentameter, [— ⏑⏑]οἰκτίρας ἄνδρ᾽ ἀγαθὸν παρίτω, closes a fifth-century epitaph from Thessalian Pharsalus (*CEG* 117). Such verses shared over decades suggest the free circulation of epitaphic poetry and formulae in the early period, see 3n. and above, pp. 10–12; the standard supplement in *CEG* 117, [πᾶς δὲ κατ-], offers an easier construal of the third-person imperative than does v. 2 here. **Τέττιχον:** the name is presumably associated with τέττιξ, and recalls the importance of cicadas to Athenian elite identity in the archaic period, cf. e.g. Thucyd. 1.6.3, Ar. *Knights* 1331; cicadas were symbols of autochthony because they were believed to emerge from the ground.

3 [6] ἐν πολέμωι begins a hexameter at *Il.* 18.106, 20.131 (but both are in enjambment and followed, unlike here, by punctuation). The same verse (together with ἄνδρ᾽ ἀγαθόν) occurs in an epitaph from Argos of the late sixth century (*CEG* 136), cf. 2n.; the language of 'losing one's ἥβη' is very common, cf. e.g. *CEG* 4.3, 6 ii.1. On the various expressions for dying in early epigram see Tueller 2016.

4 [7] The change to a second-person imperative draws everyone into a community of mourners and exerts pressure upon them to put into practice what they have read. **ταῦτ᾽:** presumably, the sad story suggested by 2–3. **ἀποδυράμενοι:** the compound is extremely rare in epitaphs. **ἐπὶ πρᾶγμ᾽ ἀγαθόν:** it is not uncommon for the dead or the tombstone to wish the passer-by good luck or success, cf. e.g. *CEG* 110 (Boeotia c. 600 BC) τὺ δ᾽ εὖ πρᾶσσ᾽, *GVI* 1214.2 (Hellenistic Pholegandros) βαῖν᾽ ἐπὶ σᾶν πρᾶξιν τύγχανε θ᾽ ὧν ἐθέλεις, *SGO* 05/01/31.10 (Hellenistic Smyrna), but here ἀγαθόν, picking up ἄνδρ᾽ ἀγαθόν, may perhaps mean 'good', as Tettichos was a good man, rather than 'successful'; see Day 1989: 19. Somewhat similar are the protreptic inscriptions said to have been set up on herms by Hipparchus in the Attic countryside: μνῆμα τόδ᾽ Ἱππάρχου· στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν and μνῆμα τόδ᾽ Ἱππάρχου· μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα (Pl. *Hipparch.* 229a); see Meyer 2005: 46–7. At the end of the 'Funeral Speech' (2.46), the Thucydidean Pericles dismisses the listeners with a reshaping of this epitaphic topos: νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἑκάστωι ἄπιτε (u.l. ἀποχωρεῖτε). Such protreptic was to be a very long-lasting element of the

funerary tradition, cf. e.g. *SGO* 02/06/17.5–6 (imperial Caria) τοίγαρ ὁρῶν εἰς τοῦτον, ὁδοίπορε, χρηστὰ νοήσεις / γινώσκων ἀρετὰν τίμιον οὐ κακίαν.

III *CEG* 28 = *GVI* 1225

A poem of probably the second half of the sixth century BC, found in Athens; it is inscribed on the base of a funerary *stēlē* (now lost). The phraseology, writing and layout of the inscription are very like IV; they may be by the same poet or from the same workshop (see Jeffery 1962: 132).

Bibl. Bowra 1938: 177–9, Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 87–8, Skiadas 1967: 27–9, Lausberg 1982: 117, Ecker 1990: 168–73.

1 [8] ἄνθρωπ᾽: an isolated example, until much later in the epitaphic tradition, of such an address to the passer-by; the vast majority of extant examples come from the second to the fourth centuries AD. This curt address need not, however, be rudely brusque or colloquial (see Dickey 1996: 150–4); it covers every possible passer-by, of whatever age and ethnicity. It is unclear whether ἄνθρωπε also suggests a reason why a passer-by should stop: because all ἄνθρωποι are mortal and will themselves one day have σήματα. **καθ᾽ ὁδόν** 'along the road', see *436–7*n. **φρασίν:** an archaic form of the dative plural of φρήν, cf. Cassio 2019: 13, 49; μενοινᾶν is commonly linked to φρεσί or ἐν φρεσί in epic, see next note. **ἄλλα μενοινῶν**: lit. 'devising other things', i.e. with quite other things than death on your mind, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.1–2 *ibam forte Via Sacra ... / nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.* In *Od.* the half-verse νόος δε οἱ ἄλλα μενοινᾶι is twice used of Penelope (2.92, 18.283), and in *HHHerm.* a very similar verse describes the constantly plotting baby god, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἤειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα (63). There seems, however, no reason to see the inscription as 'teasing' the passer-by with harbouring deceitful intentions or to understand the 'other things' here as 'other tombs' competing for the passer-by's attention (so e.g. Lavigne 2019: 175).

2 [9] στῆθι καὶ οἴκτιρον: cf. *10*, where the expression occupies the first half of the hexameter, rather than the pentameter as here; virtually the same expression occurs also in *CEG* 174 (Sinope, first half of fifth century BC). The feeling of pity presumably did not necessarily involve the 'lamentation' of the poem for Tettichos (II), see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 174–9; rather, the passer-by is asked for a moment to match the unmoving presence of the funerary monument, see Steiner 2001: 152–3, 256–7. An interpunct is carved on the stone to separate οἴκτιρον and σῆμα, but the imperative hangs over the noun ('show pity for/at the tomb'), although

σῆμα is the object of ἰδών. **σῆμα Θράσωνος:** what might otherwise be an independent identification of the monument is here incorporated into the poem, cf. *422*n. **Θράσωνος:** a very commonly attested name.

IV *CEG* 27 = *GVI* 1224

A poem inscribed on a statue base, found in the Attic countryside and roughly contemporary with the preceding poem; it has been reunited on display with an impressive *kouros*-statue, perhaps by Aristiōn (XLIX, introductory n.), found in 1936 apparently not far from where the base was discovered in 1938, but the join is not universally accepted and several uncertainties remain, see Robinson–Stevens–Vanderpool 1949, Richter 1960: 114–19, Stewart 1976. The only battle in Attica which would seem to fit the likely date of the poem was that at Pallene, where the Athenians were defeated by the returning tyrant Peisistratos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.3); it has been argued that the name Kroisos, perhaps drawn from the Lydian king who was a benefactor of the prestigious family of Alkmaion (the Alkmaionidai), makes sense in the context of that battle (see e.g. Eliot 1967), but we cannot even be sure that Kroisos was killed in Attica.

Bibl. Jeffery 1962: 143–4, Clairmont 1970: 16–17, Lausberg 1982: 115–16, Osborne 1988: 6–9, Day 1989: 18–19, Stewart 1997: 66–7, Lorenz 2010: 143–5, Bruss 2010: 389–91, González González 2019: 45–7.

1 [10] στῆθι καὶ οἴκτιρον: see *9*n. **Κροίσου παρὰ σῆμα θανόντος:** as in III, the identification of the tomb is incorporated into the poem; the form was very long-lived, both in literary and inscribed poetry, cf. Call. *Epigr.* 35 (= *HE* 1185–6) Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας κτλ., *Epigr.* 39 (= *HE* 1225–6). **Κροίσου** perhaps (see above) suggests that the family had moved to Attica from Asia Minor or had links with the east; the name is attested in Attica, though it is not common (seven examples in *LGPN* II, of which this is the earliest).

2 [11] ποτ᾽ suggests the perspective of a future reader of the epigram and implies that the inscription will be read 'for ever', long after Kroisos was actually killed; it does not necessarily imply that the inscription was composed long after the actual death, cf. *CEG* 4, 112 (below), Eur. *Tr.* 1190, Young 1983: 35–40. The only instance of verse-initial ὅν ποτ᾽ in *Il.* is in Hector's famous prophecy (Introduction, p. 6) of the epitaph for his defeated foe, ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος, / ὅν ποτ᾽ ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ (7.89–90), and this poem is, like *CEG* 112 (… ὅς ποτ᾽ ἀριστεύων ἐν προμάχοις [ἔπεσε]), very likely shaped

after those verses. **ἐνὶ προμάχοις:** see *82*n. The phrase here takes the place of ἀριστεύοντα in Hector's verses (previous n.). **θοῦρος Ἄρης:** a standard noun-epithet formula in *Il.* In Homer 'Ares' is both a god whose principal sphere of activity is the battlefield, and a word for 'warfare', and sometimes seems to suggest both, see Clarke 1999: 269–72; modern texts often seek to distinguish between Ἄρης and ἄρης. In the present case, Kroisos was killed in the maelstrom of battle (ἄρης), but the Homeric echoes suggest that he died the heroic death which in Homer comes at the hands of a named opponent, in this case θοῦρος Ἄρης; cf. the very similar *1*.

V *CEG* 123 = *GVI* 77

A poem from Pelion in Thessaly, probably from the second half of the fifth century BC. The dead man's name, Γάστρων (or Γάσστρουν in its Thessalian form, see Buck 1955: 27), is rare (and found as a term of abuse at Ar. *Frogs* 200), but is attested in various parts of Greece. A clear echo of *Od.* 1.1 raises the possibility that there is play with his name, as the Homeric Odysseus was the hero *par excellence* of γαστήρ, the stomach and its demands (see e.g. Steiner 2010: 115–16, 155–6, Montiglio 2011: 95–100), and one of his most famous speeches (*Od.* 9.2–11) celebrated the pleasures of feasting (see Hunter 2018: chap. 3) and resonates with Gastron's epithet φιλόξενος (see n. ad loc).

Bibl. Lorenz 1976: 102–4.

1 [12] Γάστρωνος: the doubling of the sigma on the inscription is very common, see Buck 1955: 75–6. **φιλοξένου:** cf. *CEG* 140 (Aetolia, perhaps seventh century BC) Προμάθου τόδε σᾶμα φιλοξένου ἀνδρός, *GVI* 483.2 (imperial Phrygia). The position of the adjective here suggests that it 'replaces' πολύτροπον in *Od.* 1.1. φιλόξεινος occurs three times in *Od.*, in a formulaic verse spoken by Odysseus (6.121, 9.176, 13.202); it may have been another epithet particularly associated with him. Others understand Φιλοξένου as the name of Gastron's father; 'Gastron son of Philoxenos' would in fact make play on the dead man's name even more obvious. **ὃς μάλα πολλοῖς:** cf. *Od.* 1.1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά/ ...; the opening verses of *Od.* find later echoes in Hellenistic and imperial epitaphs, cf. e.g. *406–8*, *GVI* 627, 1183 (= *SGO* 02/13/03).

2 [13] ἀστοῖς καὶ ξείνοις: see *4*n.; in view of 1, we should perhaps recall *Od.* 1.3 πολλὰ δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα. The variation between -ξένου and ξείνοις reveals a poet drawing on the resources of the poetic heritage to produce a mixture typical of the language of inscribed verse. **δῶκε θανὼν ἀνίαν**

perhaps comes as a pointed surprise: we expect a 'hospitable' man to 'give' entertainment, not pain, to many people; the epitaph thus plays not just with the Odyssean heritage, but also with epitaphic form, cf. *CEG* 664 Κλεομάνδρου τόδε σῆμα … / … δακρυόεν δὲ πόλει πένθος ἔθηκε θανών, Solon fr. 21 … φίλοισι / καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς. ἀνία does not reappear in extant epitaphs before the very end of the Hellenistic age (*GVI* 1006.5).

VI *CEG* 102 = *GVI* 1564

A poem of the late fifth or early fourth century BC, from the Athenian Kerameikos. The personification of qualities for which the dead are habitually praised makes this poem stand out from many which otherwise express very similar thoughts. The poem illustrates the gradual seeping of public virtues into the private epitaphs of the fourth century, cf. *CEG* 10 (Athenian *polyandrion* of 432 BC), Tsagalis 2008: chap. 3.

Bibl. Clairmont 1970: 153–4, González González 2019: 69–70.

1 [14] Although in such genealogical expressions the existence of a relationship between two ideas may be more important than the causality inherent in paternity and maternity, here the behaviour characteristic of σωφροσύνη, which is visible to all, is indeed the product of a 'great-minded' internal sense of how one should be seen by others; the mother–daughter relationship is therefore appropriate, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 8.1–2 φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας / ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ. For the relationship between the two virtues cf. e.g. Thucyd. 1.84.3 (Archidamos) αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει (cf. *CEG* 704.1), North 1966: 6, Cairns 1993: 314–15; sound-play between -φροσύνη and -φρονος reinforces the link. These are characteristics of praiseworthy young Athenians, though the Euripidean Hippolytus takes them over in an idiosyncratic way (*Hipp.* 78–81).

For the personification of Σωφροσύνη cf. Theognis 1138, *Tabula Cebetis* 20; dedications of Roman date to Ἀρετὴ καὶ Σωφροσύνη occur at Pergamum (*IPergamon* 310, Hepding 1910: 459–60), but there is little sign of a genuine cult until this late period. There was, however, an altar of Αἰδώς at Athens (Pausanias 1.17.1, [Dem.] 25.35, Hesych. α 1791, Stafford 2000: 78), and cf. Hes. *WD* 200, 324, Timotheus, *PMG* 789 σέβεσθ' Αἰδῶ συνεργὸν Ἀρετᾶς δοριμάχου, Eur. *Hipp.* 78, *IA* 1090–1 ποῦ τὸ τᾶς Αἰδοῦς ἢ τὸ τᾶς Ἀρετᾶς / σθένει τι πρόσωπον. On the habit of 'personification' in general see Dover 1974: 141–4, Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 559–60, Stafford 2000, Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 316–17. **πότνια:** a standard address to a female divinity, cf. Eur. *IA* 821, fr. 436.1 (the first *Hippolytus*) ὦ πότνι' Αἰδώς, *Hcld.* 104 πότνια … Δίκα. It

is not clear why the stonecutter at first wrote ΟΛΒΙΑ. **μεγαλόφρονος:** αἰδώς engenders a self-aware greatness of mind and concern with reputation, cf. *198*.

2 [15] τιμήσας: Kleidemos 'honoured' these 'divinities' by being σώφρων, αἰδοῖος, μεγαλόφρων, εὐπόλεμος and ἀγαθός. **εὐπόλεμον:** Kleidemos may have fought (and been killed?) in battle, or this may simply be his family's confidence in the future he had before him. The adjective is rare, cf. *CEG* 10.2 (Athenian *polyandrion* of 432 BC) νίκην εὐπόλεμον; Xenophon uses it to mean 'good at/prepared for war' (*Poroi* 4.51, *Oec.* 4.3). **Ἀρετήν:** for personified Ἀρετή cf. e.g. Hes. *WD* 289–92, Simonides, *PMG* 579 (= 257 Poltera), *AP* 7.251 (= *FGE* 714–17), Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–34 (Prodicus' 'Choice of Heracles'), *CEG* 882.1 (Histria, same period) δῖ' Ἀρετὰ κλυτόφαμε (with Peek 1956), Aristotle, *PMG* 842, Asclepiades, *AP* 7.145 (= *HE* 946–9), Arete mourning for Ajax (see Sens 2011: 197–8). Euphranor is credited with a 'colossal statue' of Virtue (Pliny, *HN* 34.78), but this probably postdates this epigram.

3 [16] This verse with the name of the dead, his deme and his father's name acts as the focus around which the rest of the poem is set. The family of Kleidemos, son of Kleidemides, is well attested epigraphically, see *PA* 8724. **Μελιτεύς** 'from Melite', a deme of central Athens, which included the area of the Pnyx, see *RE* 16.541–2.

4 [17] The verse may imply that Kleidemides predeceased his son. If ὀδύνη is correctly restored at the end of the verse, it will be the only instance of that noun in *CEG*; the sense 'physical', rather than 'emotional', pain seems still to have been dominant in the classical period, see LSJ ὀδύνη 2 and *13*n. on ἀνίαν. **ζῆλος** 'source of pride', cf. *26*.

VII *CEG* 509 = *GVI* 894

An Athenian poem of the first half of the fourth century BC, celebrating Potamon, son of Olympichos, a Theban piper; nothing else is known of Potamon, but a Pindaric scholium reports on the authority of the grammarian Aristodemos, a pupil of Aristarchus, that 'Olympichos the flute-player' was taught by Pindar (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.77 = II 81 Drachmann), and the identity of the two figures is generally accepted; τέχναι, such as flute-playing, often ran in families. The poem is carved below an image of a younger man greeting a seated older man, and both carry *auloi*; it is reasonable to assume that this is an image of Potamon and his father, perhaps reunited in the Underworld. Beneath the poem is inscribed

(in larger letters) 'Patrokleia wife of Potamon'; it is perhaps more likely that this was added subsequently when Patrokleia died than that she was responsible for the monument itself.

The combination of multiple hexameters and a pentameter is not unusual, see Introduction, p. 4; Hunter 2019: 138–9. πατρὸς δέ (3) picks up Ἑλλὰς μέν (1), and so it is misleading to describe the poem as two hexameters followed by an elegiac distich, though 1–2 are concerned with the son, 3–4 with the father.

Wilson 2007 argues that the poem both looks to, and seeks to surpass, a couplet which was all but certainly inscribed on a statue of the famous Theban aulete Pronomos, set up in Thebes at some time in the late fifth or early fourth century:

Ἑλλὰς μὲν Θήβας προτέρας προύκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς,
Θῆβαι δὲ Πρόνομον παῖδα τὸν Οἰνιάδου.
Anth. Plan. 28 = *FGE* 1138–9

On the increased prominence and professionalism of 'star' auletes at the end of the fifth century see e.g. Csapo 2004: 210–13, citing earlier bibliography.

Bibl. Kastriotes 1903 (*editio princeps*, with excellent photograph), Clairmont 1970: 111–12, Wilson 2007, Tsagalis 2008: 171–5, Tentori Montalto 2009.

1 [18] Cf. Lobon, *SH* 519 κρύπτω τῶιδε τάφωι Σοφοκλῆ πρωτεῖα λαβόντα / τῆι τραγικῆι τέχνηι, σχῆμα τὸ σεμνότατον, Wilson 2007: 147 n.31. The claim about Potamon is more likely to be a general one to supremacy in *aulētikē*, rather than a reference to a specific victory in a major games (as West 1992: 366 n.39). **Ἑλλὰς μέν:** this hexameter opening appears to be attested only here and in the poem for Pronomos.

3 [20] 'In our memories, praise for his father Olympichos grows …'.

4 [21] σοφοῖς βάσανον 'a touchstone for the skilled', i.e. Potamon was the 'benchmark' against which all flute-players had to measure themselves. Rather similar is the description of Hesiod as ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης, in an epigram known already to Aristotle (*FGE* 583).

VIII *CEG* 627

A poem of the middle of the fourth century BC from Eretria in Euboea; the superscription identifies the dead man's father as Leodamas. Lysandrides was from Andros; the poem suggests that he had been involved (and

killed?) in fighting, and he may perhaps have been serving as a mercenary with Macedonian forces stationed on Euboea.

Bibl. Dunant 1978: 26–8.

1 [22] A very common style of opening, cf. e.g. *CEG* 491 (Piraeus) σῆς ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα ... οὔποτε λήσει, 603. **Λυσανδρίδη:** a well attested, if not particularly common, name. **λείψει:** intransitive, see LSJ A II.

2–3 [23–4] The common metonymic use of 'Ares' for 'war' (*11*n.) is here combined with a real presence of the war god who 'inspired' Lysandrides, just as Homeric heroes can be inspired by protecting divinities; this is not, however, a role which Ares plays in Homer. **παρέσχες:** an appropriate verb for the providing of witnesses, as in a legal trial. **κρατεῖν:** not just 'be powerful in', but also 'be victorious in', 'be the best in', like a winning athlete, cf. Bacchyl. 6.151–6 στάδιον κρατήσας / Κέον εὐκλέϊξας, LSJ IIa.

4 [25] θνήισκεις: see *82*n. **εὐκλέϊσας:** 2nd pers. sing. aorist of εὐκλεΐζω. Such forms occur in the second half of the pentameter at, e.g., *CEG* 6.2, 10.13, 788.2, where an initial dactyl seems certain; thus εὐκλέϊσας, rather than trisyllabic εὐκλείσας, seems very likely here. **ἁλιστέφανον:** only here and *HHAp.* 410 before the Hellenistic period (Alexander, *SH* 36.1, *GVI* 1869.3). Poetry uses rather περίρρυτος or ἀμφίρυτος, perhaps both for metrical reasons and because they are found in Homer. There may be a continuing suggestion of Lysandrides' prowess: not only was he the best in war, but his island is 'crowned' as successful athletes were.

IX *CEG* 550 = *GVI* 1495

A poem of the mid fourth century BC from the Athenian Kerameikos for Euthias, apparently either a comic poet or a comic actor, see 2n.; cf. XXXIX. It seems most likely that Euthias was an Athenian, and that he won second prize (perhaps at his only entry in competition) and then died, but interpretation is not certain. Callimachus, *Epigr.* 7 (= *HE* 1301–4) similarly concerns a poet, Theaitetos, who apparently did not win in a Dionysiac contest, but whose σοφίη, the last word of the poem (as here), 'Greece will for ever proclaim'. Another poem close in various respects to this one, and roughly contemporary with it, is *CEG* 773, an Attic dedication in hexameters by an unknown but victorious comic poet:

> ἡδυγέλωτι χορῶι Διονύσια σύν ποτ' ἐν[ίκα],
> μνημόσυνον δὲ θεῶι νίκης τόδε δῶρον [ἔθηκεν],
> δήμωι μὲν κόσμον, ζῆλον πατρὶ κισσοφο[ροῦντι]·
> τοῦδε δ' ἔτι πρότερος στεφανηφόρον ε[ἷλεν ἀγῶνα].

The shared elements might even suggest that they are the work of the same poet, but cf. 2n.

Bibl. Hallof–Stroszeck 2002: 124.

1 [26] ζηλοῖ 'admires, is proud of', cf. *17*. **Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα:** see *32*n. *CEG* 567 is a fourth-century BC epitaph for a potter who was judged better than all his rivals by Ἑλλὰς … ἅπασα; for the continuation of the motif cf. Alcaeus, *AP* 7.412 (= *HE* 62–9), 'all of Greece' mourns for the actor Pylades. **ποθεῖ:** cf. Dionysus' πόθος for the recently dead Euripides at Ar. *Frogs* 53–66; the motif is very common, see e.g. *62, 421, 454*. **ἱεροῖς ἐν ἀγῶσιν:** i.e. competitions at Dionysiac festivals, cf. e.g. Theocr. 17.112 οὐδὲ Διωνύσου τις ἀνὴρ ἱεροὺς κατ' ἀγῶνας κτλ. Competitions for comic actors were introduced at the Great Dionysia at some point in the fourth century before 313/12 (see Millis–Olson 2012: 171).

2 [27] The apparent contrast between τέχνη and φύσις, in Latin *ars* and *ingenium*, looks forward to one of the central organising principles of later poetic criticism; cf. already Arist. *Poet.* 1451a24 (on Homer) ἤτοι διὰ τέχνην ἢ διὰ φύσιν, Hor. *AP* 295, 408 (with Brink 1971: 395), Ovid, *Am.* 1.15.13–14 (with McKeown's n.). The point of the contrast here, however, in a eulogistic poem is somewhat unclear. Perhaps οὐχὶ φύσει refers, not to some vague 'inspiration' (or even physical health) which Euthias lacked, but to the fact that he did not come from a family of poets, as, for example, in the case of *CEG* 773 (cited above), in which both father and son seem to have won the prize, and of Aristophanes, whose sons followed him into the theatrical profession. τέχνη and σοφία (4) are here virtual synonyms. **τέχνηι:** for the spelling on the stone see *33*n.

3 [28] βοτρυοστεφάνωι 'crowned with bunches of grapes'; for a possible later representation of personified Κωμωιδία so represented see *LIMC* Komodia 8. A woman called Κωμωιδία is found on several vases as a maenad in the Dionysiac procession, see *LIMC* Komodia 2–4, Kossatz-Deissmann 1991: 183. βοτρυοστέφανος is found also in a Hellenistic hexameter fragment referring to a region rich in grapes (Archytas fr. 1 Powell (*CA* p. 23)). **κωμωιδίαι:** for the spelling on the stone see Threatte 1980: 335, *CEG* 992 τραγοιδοῦ. **ἡδυγέλωτι:** cf. *CEG* 773.1 (above); the earliest occurrence of the adjective is *HHPan* 37 (of Pan, another figure in the orbit of Dionysus). The two fourth-century occurrences with reference to comedy may suggest a particular point to the term; some Menandrian comedies end with a prayer for εὐπάτειρα φιλόγελώς τε … Νίκη (*Dysc.* 948–9, *Mis.* 465–6, *Sicyon.* 422–3), and ἡδύγελως perhaps evokes this formulaic (at least later) φιλόγελως, a word which cannot be used in dactylic verse.

4 [29] τάξει ‘ordering, rank’; Euthias presumably won second prize at least once. **ἔφυς** seems a certain correction; a switch to the third person would be very sudden and awkward. **σοφίαι:** a familiar term for poetic skill from at least archaic lyric onwards; the contest in Ar. *Frogs* is to determine who is τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος (766, 780), and cf. *Clouds* 522.

X *CEG* 568 = *GVI* 1698

A fourth-century BC poem from the Athenian Kerameikos for Makareus who died young; the stone is now lost. A superscription reported that Makareus belonged to the deme Lakiadai. The second-person address to the deceased is more likely imagined to be the reflections of a passer-by than spoken by Archebios, who is also named in the superscription and was presumably responsible for the monument. Makareus was either a poet or an actor of tragedy (see 3n.).

Bibl. Ghiron-Bistagne 1976: 112–13.

1 [30] προὔπεμψε ‘had escorted, had sent you on your way’; the image is of escorting a departing traveller, in this case a young man setting out on the journey of life. The verb is common of attendance at funeral processions (LSJ II), so there is a kind of reversal here: ‘if Fortune (rather than Death) had escorted …’. **ἡλικίας** ‘the prime of your life’. **ἐπέβησεν**, ‘set you on the path to’, ‘allowed you to enter upon’, continues the image of a journey or procession.

2 [31] Lit. ‘You, Makareus, were high in our hope and expectation …’. The apodosis without ἄν confirms that this is not a counterfactual: there *was* real hope for Makareus’ future, if only Fortune had been kind to him; contrast *CEG* 629.2–3 (the death of a young child) εἰ μέτρον ἥβης / ἵκετο, τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἂν φίλος ἦν ἀρεταῖς.

3 [32] ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς: ἡνίοχος is found in various metaphorical uses to mean ‘master of/expert in’, cf. *FGE* 805 παλαισμοσύνης δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον, 1571 Τιμόθεον, κιθάρας δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον. The familiar, particularly lyric, image of the ‘chariot of song’, however, suggests that here this is anything but a dead metaphor. In recounting the poet’s career in the parabasis of Ar. *Wasps*, the chorus refer (1022–3, where see the nn. of Biles-Olson) to the poet’s open entry into competition as οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων ἀλλ’ οἰκείων Μουσῶν στόμαθ’ ἡνιοχήσας and to his success as ἀρθεὶς δὲ μέγας καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτ’ ἐν ὑμῖν. The occurrence of two elements of *CEG* 568 (μέγας, ἡνίοχος) in those two Aristophanic verses is remarkable,

but it seems unlikely that the poet of the epitaph is alluding to the *Wasps*, particularly as the epitaph concerns tragedy rather than comedy. This parallel does, however, lend some support to the idea that Makareus was a tragic poet rather than an actor. **τέχνης τραγικῆς:** cf. Ar. *Frogs* 1495 τῆς τραγωιδικῆς τέχνης; τέχνη is the standard term by which the poets designate tragedy in *Frogs*. **Ἕλλησιν:** cf. *26*n.; the language is to some degree formulaic, but may also reflect Athenian consciousness of the gradual spread of Athenian drama across the Greek world during the fourth century.

4 [33] Although he died too young for great dramatic success, Makareus' life was characterised by the excellent qualities most common in encomiastic epitaphs (Tsagalis 2008: 135–60); these confer upon him a κλέος no less than dramatic success would have done. **σωφροσύνηι:** for the spelling on the stone in -ΕΙ (cf. *27*) see Threatte 1980: 368–9, Hansen on *CEG* 490.3.

XI *CEG* 572 = *GVI* 836

A poem, of probably the second half of the fourth century BC, for the Paphlagonian Atotas, identified by the superscription as a worker in minerals, μεταλλεύς; the *stēlē*, which is now lost, was found in the region of the famous Attic silver-mines at Laurion. Atotas' status and the particular τέχνη (3) related to mining which he practised are uncertain. Paphlagonia itself had a significant mining industry, and Atotas probably learned his trade there; he may have worked at the mines of Laurion as an ἐπιστάτης for a wealthy Athenian (cf. Xen. *Poroi* 4.14 on the Thracian Sosias, Wilhelm 1934: 18–21), and may have been a free 'contractor', rather than a slave or freedman. The Homeric style (see Tsagalis 2008: 263–4) and patriotic pride of the poem do not suggest low status.

Bibl. Bérard 1888 (*editio princeps*), Lauffer 1979: 197–204.

1 [34] πόντου ἀπ' Εὐξείνου: later at least, Greeks associated the believed change of name of the Black Sea from Ἄξενος to Εὔξεινος with colonisation and the coming of 'civilisation' to an otherwise brutal and inhospitable area, see Strabo 7.3.6, West 2003: esp. 156–7; the first phrase of the poem therefore introduces 'the Paphlagonian's' full claim to traditional Greek values. Although the wording is straightforward, the poet may perhaps have remembered a poem (*FGE* 835–9) said to have been inscribed on a bowl dedicated to Poseidon at the mouth of the Euxine by the Spartan Pausanias in the early fifth century; πόντου ἐπ'

Εὐξείνου begins the second couplet of that poem. Although the arrogance of Pausanias was not to be imitated or lightly evoked, it is likely that the poem was well known, and it too makes much of the dedicator's 'heroic' lineage, ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς. **μεγάθυμος** derives from *Il.* 5.576–7, Πυλαιμένεα … ἀτάλαντον Ἄρηι, / ἀρχὸν Παφλαγόνων μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστάων; just as Atotas descends from Pylaimenes (3), so he also takes the heroic epithet of the Paphlagonians. Elsewhere in *Il.* the epithet for the Paphlagonians is μεγαλήτορες (13.656, 661). If μεγάθυμος recalls the Iliadic description of the death of Pylaimenes, then 3–4 will offer a rival to the Homeric account. **Ἀτώτας:** a well attested Paphlagonian name, see Robert 1963: 528–30; at Strabo 12.3.25 καὶ Ἀτώτης is a very likely correction of the transmitted καρατωτης in a list of Paphlagonian names.

2 [35] ἧς γαίας begins a hexameter only once in Homer, *Od.* 9.28 οὔ τι ἐγώ γε / ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι; an emotional evocation of that verse seems very likely. **σῶμ' ἀνέπαυσε πόνων** 'gave his body a rest from its labours', both a euphemism for death (cf. e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 185) and a reference to the hard toil which any work of mining involves, see Tueller 2016: 229.

3 [36] τέχνηι δ' οὔτις ἔριζε 'no one rivalled (unaugmented imperfect) in the craft'; the absence of any pronoun, whether αὐτῶι ('him') or μοι ('me'), prepares the transition from third to first person (εἴμ', 4). For such claims to supremacy cf. *CEG* 87, another non-Athenian worker (a Phrygian woodcutter) and another poem which moves from third to first person, 483. **Πυλαιμένεος:** the Homeric genitive in its Homeric *sedes*, cf. *Il.* 2.851, where in the Trojan catalogue Pylaimenes is said to have commanded the Paphlagonians. Subsequently, he became the heroic ancestor of the Paphlagonians, and Mithridates is said to have granted the kingship to his descendants (Strabo 12.3.1), cf. further Pliny, *HN* 6.2.1, Nepos, *Datames* 2.2. The claim to be 'from the stock of Pylaimenes' is more a claim to a family of importance and long standing than to literal 'descent' from the hero. See further Ziegler, *RE* 23.2106–8. **ῥίζης:** there may be some sound-play with ἔριζε, i.e. 'no one could "rival" me, beause I am from the "root" of Pylaimenes'.

4 [37] In Homer Pylaimenes is killed by Menelaos (*Il.* 5.576–9), though later texts offer different killers, Patroclus (Nepos, *Datames* 2.2) and Achilles (this poem, Dictys Cret. 3.5). Nepos might simply have made a slip and Dictys might have been in touch with other non-Homeric traditions, but the problem is a curious one. Given Achilles' importance, both generally and particularly in the Black Sea (see e.g. Hunter 2018: 30–1), it

is easy to imagine why Paphlagonians would have preferred their legendary hero to be killed by him rather than by Menelaos, a μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής (*Il.* 17.588), but Pylaimenes is killed in *Il.* long before Achilles returns to the fighting. It is unclear whether the post-Homeric identity of the killer is connected with a Homeric 'problem' arising from the fact that Pylaimenes seems still to be alive at *Il.* 13.643–59, eight books after Menelaos killed him (see Janko ad loc., Schironi 2018: 270–1). How early and how 'local' is the Achillean version of Pylaimenes' death remains unknown, but the purpose of the story here is clear. Just as the Paphlagonian hero had to die, so also did his latter-day descendant; the death of Pylaimenes is both a matter of patriotic pride and a consolation. **Ἀχιλλῆος χειρί:** a variant on the Homeric χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος (*Il.* 21.47, 24.478, etc.); the whole participial phrase echoes passages such as *Il.* 10.452 ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείς, 22.446 χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος δάμασε.

XII *GVI* 1603

An early Hellenistic poem from Akraiphia on the northeastern shore of Lake Copais in Boeotia; the poem was inscribed on the base of an equestrian statue. The poem seems to suggest that Eugnotos, whom it celebrates, committed suicide after defeat in battle on behalf of the Boeotians and that his family subsequently erected a statue of him in the town; some of the details of 13–14 are, however, uncertain. All that is clear from the poem is that Eugnotos is said to have led cavalry charges against the forces of a 'king'; this has often been taken to refer to events of 293 BC in which Demetrios Poliorcetes put down a Boeotian revolt (Plut. *Demetrios* 39). Demetrios' forces will have entered Boeotia from the north at Orchomenos (cf. Polyaenus 4.7.11) and then marched anti-clockwise around the lake, bringing them very close to Onchestos, where the fighting may have taken place (see 4n.). An alternative date for Eugnotos' death would be 291 BC when Demetrios besieged Thebes for a second time. It is unclear how long after the events celebrated the monument and the poem were erected; perhaps a decade or more – presumably Akraiphia had regained a measure of independence and freedom of action, see Ma 2005: 153–4.

The poem well illustrates the expanded mode of Hellenistic military epitaphs in which narrative and encomium combine to commemorate 'heroic' deeds; death is here not a miserable trick of Fate, but a confirmation of the worth of the deceased.

Bibl. Perdrizet 1900: 70–3, Moretti 1967: 173–5, Ma 2005, Cairon 2009: 150–8.

1 [38] τοῖος ἐών presumably points to an accompanying image of Eugnotos as a warrior (cf. 14). **Εὔγνωτος:** a rare name, but one attested elsewhere in mainland Greece.

2 [39] χεῖρας ἀνηρίθμους 'countless forces', see LSJ χείρ v. This presumably reflects contemporary rhetoric about the struggle in which Eugnotos was involved, and the language itself will go back ultimately to the Greek rhetoric of the Persian Wars, when another 'king' invaded Greece. Ath. 6.253f, a passage which may go back to Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F13), speaks with contempt of Athenian flattery for Demetrios, when it was the Athenians who had fought at Marathon and had 'slaughtered countless thousands (ἀναρίθμους μυριάδας) of the barbarians', cf. Lysias 2.20 πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων. **ἦλθε βοαδρομέων** 'came quickly to assist'.

3 [40] θηξάμενος: lit. 'having sharpened', i.e. 'inciting', 'urging forward', one of the duties of a leader, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.20 Cyrus tried θήγειν ... τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὰ πολεμικά, *Mem.* 3.3.7 θήγειν ... τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐξοργίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. The image of sharpening prepares for the 'fatal point' of Eugnotos' death. **Ἄρηα:** here used for 'military forces' (LSJ II 2), with some resonance of proper martial spirit, cf. ψυχάς in the passages of Xen. in previous n.

4 [41] ὑπὲρ Ὀγχηστοῦ: Onchestos, on the southern shore of Lake Copais, was a traditional centre for pan-Boeotian meetings and may have been targeted by 'the king' for that reason. The force of ὑπέρ is not entirely clear, perhaps 'beyond', i.e. 'away from', see Ma 2005: 146–7; there is also a suggestion that the cloud lay 'over, on top of' Onchestos, and it could not be 'pushed away'. **χάλκεον ... νέφος:** Homer uses νέφος in various metaphorical senses, of great numbers of troops (*Il.* 16.66, 23.133), of war (*Il.* 17.243) and of death (*Od.* 4.180). χάλκεος is a standard Iliadic epithet of Ares, here transferred to the destructiveness of his activities; at *GVI* 23 χάλκεος Ἄρης is used metonymically of war.

5 [42] ἤδη heightens the vivid *enargeia* of the description of Eugnotos' heroic end, as it forces us to imagine the scene; ἦ δή (Ma) would also be a vivid pointer to the sentence it introduces, see *GP*² 285. **δοράτεσσιν ἐλείπετο θραυομένοισιν:** lit. 'he was left by the shattering spears', i.e. as those around him were defeated and killed, he and his forces were left isolated. The dative, almost a kind of 'dative absolute', has no close parallel.

6 [43] Ζεῦ πάτερ: an exclamation, almost of disbelief at Eugnotos' courage, cf. Nicander, *AP* 7.526.1 (= *HE* 2723), Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ὀθρυάδα τίνα φέρτερον

ἔδρακες ἄλλον, introducing another poem about suicide after battle. There was a statue of Zeus Soter in the agora at Akraiphia (Feyel 1955, Ma 2005: 162–6), and the statue of Eugnotos will have been erected near the cult statue of that god, who, together with Apollo Ptoos, was one of the two principal deities of Akraiphia; Ζεῦ πάτερ is thus another marked local feature of the poem. **ἄρρηκτον λῆμα** picks up and contrasts with θραυομένοισιν, cf. [Theocr.] 25.112 (Heracles) ἄρρηκτόν περ ἔχων … θυμόν. There is perhaps some echo in these verses of *Il.* 2.488–90 (the poet's invocation to the Muses) πληθὺν (~ ἀνηρίθμους) … φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη; the 'Catalogue of Ships' which follows begins with the Boeotian forces at Troy and evocation of this passage would have come easily to any Boeotian poet.

7 [44] 'For eight times and ten he engaged in squadron formation with the cavalry'. There is, of course, no way of checking the historicity of the claim, but the numerical precision carries its own confirmation of authenticity, as well as recalling how quickly such heroic numbers become fixed when historical events achieve 'mythical' status. Editors differ over whether Eugnotos 'engaged with' the enemy's cavalry or engaged the enemy, who were on foot, with his own cavalry; the latter seems more likely in view of χεῖρας ἀνηρίθμους (2), and see Ma 2005: 145–6. In either case, συνελαύνειν used absolutely finds no clear parallel. **ἰλαδόν** occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 2.93, of the Greeks rushing to assembly). Eugnotos may have been an ἰλάρχης, 'commander of a cavalry-squadron', though ἰλαδόν does not rule out an even more significant role for him, such as that of *hipparchos* of all Boeotian cavalry. **ἵππωι** 'cavalry', LSJ II.

8 [45] ἥσσονι: lit. 'for the lesser man', i.e. for someone who had been defeated; Crinagoras, *AP* 7.741.8 (= *GP* 1890) praises the ἀήττητος θάνατος of a very brave Roman soldier.

9–10 [46–7] ἀνείς 'loosening, unfastening', aorist participle of ἀνίημι (LSJ II 1b). **παρὰ ξίφος … π[λή]ξατο** 'struck against his sword' (Ma 2005: 142), but both the text of the stone and the interpretation are uncertain. With κλίνατο, favoured by several editors, παρὰ ξίφος would amount to ξίφει; the understatement emphasises the heroism of the action (contrast Soph. *Ajax* 833–4). Peek understood παρὰ ξίφος as 'on the sword side [of his breastplate]'; Geffcken proposed [μάρν]ατο, 'he fought on' and Wilhelm 1980: 66–7 παρὰ … πήξατο in tmesis. See further Ma 2005: 142. **ἄρσενι θυμῶι:** the idea seems commonplace, but the expression is surprisingly rare; this may be the earliest attestation, cf. Antipater Thess., *AP* 7.65.1–2 (= *GP* 497–8, an epitaph for Diogenes). **ὡς ἔθος:** this

'custom' of suicide after defeat is not in fact at all commonly attested, but the claim both justifies Eugnotos' action and acts as a protreptic for those reading his epitaph (cf. 15–16).

11–12 [48–9] ἀσκύλευτον 'unstripped (of his armour)', here a mark of honour by the enemy; the term is not found before the Hellenistic period, though the theme is very prominent in the *Iliad* (e.g. 6.414–20). **ἐλεύθερον αἷμα χέοντα** 'pouring forth blood which was (still) free'. **ἐπὶ προγόνων ἠρία:** i.e. 'for (burial in) the tombs of his ancestors'. This too picks up a very prominent Iliadic theme, the question whether the victor will return the body of the defeated for burial. As the victors controlled the battlefield, they could choose whether or not to allow the defeated to bury their dead, see Pritchett 1974: 259–62.

13–14 [50–1] 'And now the rock of the Akraiphians has him, a bronze statue, an appropriate offering from his daughter and wife.' Interpretation is again disputed. There seems, however, no reason to differentiate the honours paid (or the resources supplied) by daughter (ἐοικότα) and wife (εἰκόνα), who rather act jointly to ensure the raising of a statue on the acropolis of the town, here called πέτρος, though Peek understood that to refer to the stone of the statue base; ἐκ and ἀπό are here essentially synonymous. ἐοικότα seems to function adverbially, i.e. like εἰκότως (so Homolle 1900: 177), rather than (despite τοῖος in 1) to describe the statue as 'resembling' Eugnotos. The reading of 14 remains however insecure, and the explicit reference to a statue is conjectural.

15–16 [52–3] For such closing protreptic cf. *GVI* 1466.5–6 (Salamis, third century BC) ζηλοῦτ' ἀλλὰ νέοι τὸν ὁμήλικα· κάτθανε γάρ που / Μηδοφόνων ἀρετᾶς μνωόμενος πατέρων. The spirit of such exhortations goes back to archaic verses such as Tyrtaeus fr. 10.15–16 ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες, / μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχρῆς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβου. **κατὰ κλέος ὧδε μαχηταί** 'fighters in this manner you have heard (in this poem and elsewhere)', i.e. 'become like Eugnotos', see LSJ κατά IV 1. Eugnotos has won his share of κλέος ἄφθιτον. Others understand 'glorious fighters in this manner', but κατὰ κλέος can hardly mean κλεινοί.

XIII *SEG* 28.528

A poem from third-century BC Pherai in Thessaly. The poem plays with ideas of the nature of the cosmos and of death which find their closest parallels in strands of 'Orphic' and Stoic thought. It is not unlikely that Lycophron was an initiate into Mysteries of some kind. Pherai has also

yielded two ‘gold leaves’ with ‘Orphic’ Underworld texts (*SEG* 45.646 = *Orph.* fr. 493 Bernabé = Graf–Johnston 2013: nos. 27–8; cf. Parker–Stamatopoulou 2004; Introduction, pp. 24–5) and Thessaly more generally has been an important source of such texts. It is, however, difficult to construct any consistent theology or cosmology from this text, even if it is tempting to think that 3–4 evoke ideas such as the common claim of the dead to the Underworld guardians found on the ‘gold leaves’, Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος (*Orph.* frr. 474.10, 475.12. 476.6 Bernabé, etc.). Merkelbach suggested that Lycophron and his father may have belonged to the family of Lycophron and Jason, who ruled as tyrants in Pherai in the first half of the fourth century and were thus διογενεῖς, i.e. ‘sprung from Zeus’, as kings since Homer had been; the suggestion is attractive (see 1–2n.), but not strictly necessary. Nor can a sense of play or even parody be ruled out.

Bibl. Merkelbach 1973, Peek 1974: 27–8, Avagianou 2002, Cairon 2009: 241–5, Wypustek 2014: 119–22.

1–2 [54–5] Interpretation depends in part upon the reference of δόξηι: is the (false) belief that Lycophron, ‘from the root of great Zeus’, was the son of Philiskos, or that Lycophron, son of Philiskos, came ‘from the root of great Zeus’? In the former case there will be an analogy with Heracles, son of Zeus but called ‘son of Amphitryon’; in the latter, there will either be an opposition between two cosmic principles, or Zeus will have been claimed to have some part in Lycophron’s family (see above on the tyrants of Pherai), as may also have been the case with the first interpretation. **ἀπὸ ῥίζης:** initial ῥ- lengthens the preceding syllable, as in Homer, cf. *AP* 7.134.2 (Hippocrates) Φοίβου ἀπὸ ῥίζης ἀθανάτου γεγαώς, West 1982: 16. **δόξηι, ἀληθείαι:** the familiar contrast (Parmenides, etc.), which evokes more than one philosophical tradition, is sharpened by juxtaposition. **ἐκ πυρὸς ἀθανάτου:** the cosmic principle of fire and the fiery αἰθήρ, associated particularly with the Stoics, is here claimed to be Lycophron’s real origin; he has now returned to it, as he dwells in the stars with which the fiery substance of the cosmos was closely associated, see next n.

3 [56] That the souls of the dead dwell among, or become, stars was a popular belief from an early date (see Olson on Ar. *Peace* 832–3) and became a very common motif of epitaphic poetry (Lattimore 1942: 34–5), but it gained new impetus from philosophical discussion of the nature of the fiery cosmos. σῶμα in the following verse activates the traditional σῶμα ~ ψυχή distinction, cf. *CEG* 10.5–6 (Athens, fifth century BC) αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώμ[ατα δὲ χθὼν] / τῶνδε, Eur. *Suppl.* 531–4 ἐάσατ’ ἤδη

γῆι καλυφθῆναι νεκρούς, / ὅθεν δ' ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ φῶς ἀφίκετο / ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, / τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν, *349–50*n. **ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀερθείς:** although the phrase recalls Zeus taking Ganymede to heaven (cf. XLII), the meaning is presumably that Lycophron's real father, 'immortal fire', has reclaimed him to dwell among the stars.

4 [57] '... but the body from my mother [i.e. my body, as opposed to my ψυχή] occupies Mother Earth'. This too rephrases a familiar motif, cf. *CEG* 482.2 (Athens, fourth century BC) ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα, *GVI* 1126.2 (Hellenistic Eretria) ἐκ γῆς γὰρ βλαστὼν γενόμην νεκρός, ἐκ δὲ νεκροῦ γῆ, 441.4 (imperial Rome) γῆς ὢν πρόσθε γόνος μητέρα γαῖαν ἔχω, Eur. *Suppl.* 531–4 (above). **κατέχει:** see LSJ II 1b.

XIV *SGO* 05/01/42 = *IK* 23.512 = *GVI* 1745

A third-century BC cenotaph from Smyrna for Hermias. The marked Doric colour of a poem from Ionian Smyrna is striking (cf. e.g. *SGO* 05/01/40, 05/01/49); it is probably the result of a poetic choice, rather than of the linguistic affiliations of Hermias' family (see Introduction, p. 8).

1 [58] Τμῶλος: the mountain range behind Smyrna extending into the interior. **νεάταισιν ὑπ' ὄχθαις** 'in its lowest foothills', cf. *Il.* 2.824 ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἴδης.

2 [59] ὀγκωτά 'piled high'. **ἀμφιβέβακε:** the perfect of ἀμφιβαίνειν is often used in the sense 'surround, bestride'; the implied object is 'the bones', and the reference is to the burial mound in the mountains.

3–4 [60–1] τηλεφαής: perhaps a memory of *Od.* 24.83, τηλεφανής of Achilles' tomb on the shore (see 6) of the Hellespont. The form in -φαής is attested in only one other Hellenistic text (Philo sen., *SH* 684.4), but -φαής is a regular element of other compounds, and there is no compelling reason to emend here. **ξεστά:** see *136*n. **ἀγορεύει / τὸν νέκυν** 'proclaims (the name of) the dead man', cf. *CEG* 532 τοὔνομα ... ἧδ' ἀγορεύει / στήλη. **ἀφθόγγωι φθεγγομένα στόματι:** a variation on the familiar idea of 'dumb stones' speaking through the letters inscribed on them, cf. *153*, *370–1*nn., Bernand 27.9 ἐγὼ σιγῆι τε καὶ οὐ λαλέουσα διδάξω, 60.2 ἡ στήλη βοάαι, *153*n. The motif is found early, cf. *CEG* 429.1 (Halicarnassus, fifth century BC) αὐδὴ τεχνήεσσα λίθου, λέγε κτλ. Simias, *AP* 7.193.4 (= *HE* 3285) describes a caged grasshopper as τερπνὰ δι' ἀγλώσσου φθεγγομένα στόματος; given how widespread the motif is in inscriptional poetry, a direct borrowing from Simias here seems an unnecessary inference.

5 [62] οἱ 'for him'; the hiatus in δέ οἱ is in imitation of Homer, where it was the effect of digamma (δέ ϝοί), cf. *CEG* 94.5 ἐνθάδε οἱ. **κενέωμα τάφου:** lit. 'emptiness of a tomb', i.e. a cenotaph. The form κενέωμα (from κενεός), rather than κένωμα (from κενός), is otherwise unattested; like the periphrasis itself, it may have been felt to raise the stylistic level of an otherwise very prosaic expression. **ποθέοντες** 'missing (him)'.

6 [63] Σμύρνης: the Ionic form gives 'local colour' to the city's name in an otherwise Doric poem. **ἀγχιάλοις … ἐπ' ἀϊόσιν:** for tombs placed on shores see Introduction, p. 6, and 3–4n. on Achilles' tomb. ἀϊόσιν is the Doric form of ἠϊόσιν; Homer used the dative plural ἠϊόνεσσι (*Od.* 5.156).

XV Bernand 62 = *GVI* 1827

An epitaph for Philoxenos who, on the most probable reconstruction, died in Kaunos in Caria, was cremated there, and whose bones were then brought home by his father; the stone is preserved in the Museum at Alexandria, and it is most probable that it also derives from that city. The letter forms point to the third century BC, though a slightly later date cannot be entirely excluded. The uneven Doric colour of the language may point to the family's origins (Reinach 1903: 181–2 suggested that the stone derived from Rhodes, not Alexandria), or simply reflect the practices of the third century, see Introduction, pp. 8–9. The versification is skilful – there is only one spondee in the whole poem (in 1), and all three hexameters have bucolic diaeresis – and the language suggests a poet in touch with the Alexandrian mode.

1–2 [64–5] Cf. *Od.* 23.207–8 (Penelope finally accepting that the stranger is Odysseus) ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρας / δειρῆι βάλλ' Ὀδυσῆϊ, Eur. *Ph.* 165–6 (Antigone) περὶ δ' ὠλένας / δέραι φιλτάται βάλοιμεν χρόνωι; the poet may, but need not, have such passages in mind. Some editors punctuate after δέξατο, taking χερσίν with 2, but rhythm is against this. **οὐκέτι** with an aorist verb must mean 'no longer, as she had done in the past'; Philoxenos travelled away, as he had done before, but never returned to his mother's greeting. οὐκέτι with a future tense is more familiar in epitaphs, cf. *444*n. **δή** adds finality and emphasis to the adverb, see *GP*² 206–7. **ἐρατάν** is focalised by the mother. **χρονίως**, 'after too long a time', is also focalised by the mother, cf. *Od.* 17.111–12 (the only instance of χρόνιος in Homer), ἐφίλει, ὡς εἴ τε πατὴρ ἑὸν υἷα / ἐλθόντα χρόνιον νέον ἄλλοθεν, Ar. *Thesm.* 912–13 (< Eur. *Hel.* 566, 634) ὦ χρόνιος ἐλθὼν … περίβαλε δὲ χέρας, Eur. *Ph.* 165–6 (cited above), 304–6. Lattimore 1942: 176 translates 'lingeringly', which is not supported by these other passages. **ἀμφιβαλοῦσα:** the aorist is

'coincident' with the time of the main verb, see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 289–92. **δέρην** is the Attic/*koinē* form; Doric would be δέραν (cf. ἐρατάν) and Ionic/Homeric δείρην.

3 [66] ἀϊθέων '(your) mates', cf. Theocr. 2.76–80, Simaitha catches sight of Delphis and his friend shortly after they have left the gymnasium. **ἀν' ἀγάκλυτον ἤλυθες ἄστυ:** probably 'did you pass through the famed city', rather than 'did you return to …' with ἀν' … ἤλυθες in tmesis. The following verse may suggest that the gymnasium was outside the city. **ἀγάκλυτον:** a Homeric adjective applied to both people and buildings (δώματα). **ἄστυ** is imprecise enough not to rule any city out; for the term applied to Alexandria cf. e.g. Steph. Byz. α505 Billerbeck.

4 [67] may suggest that the gymnasium was outside the walls of the ἄστυ, as with the Academy in classical Athens, which was also (cf. σκιερῶι) famous for its trees, cf. Ar. *Clouds* 1005–8, but this is not certain; for the gymnasium in Alexandria see Strabo 17.1.10 with Fraser 1972: I 28–9. What is, however, very likely is that the poet here evokes a distich which was inscribed on an altar of Eros in the gymnasium of the Athenian Academy, ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως, σοὶ τόνδ' ἱδρύσατο βωμόν / Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου (*FGE* 1482–3, from Ath. 13.609c–d). This reminiscence does not, however, help with the identification of the ἄστυ. **δαπέδωι:** used already in Homer for the area where sports are practised, cf. *Od.* 4.627, 17.169.

5 [68] πηγά, 'white', an extremely rare adjective, cf. Call. *h.* 3.90, Lyc. *Alex.* 336, offering a choice poetic alternative to the Homeric ὀστέα λευκά (*Il.* 23.252, cf. *SGO* 01/16/01.11) or λεύκ' ὀστέα (*Od.* 1.161, 24.76) of the dead. **θέτο:** the unaugmented middle aorist of the simple verb is notably poetic. **τεῖδε** is a Doric form for 'here', to be taken with θέτο, cf. Epicharmos fr. 97.7 K–A, Theocr. 5.32; the poet might have known texts in which τεῖδε meant 'to here' (see West on Hes. *WD* 635), but θέτο requires an indication of where the bones were placed. **κομίσσας:** the -σσ- imitates Homeric forms (e.g. *Il.* 13.579, *Od.* 18.322); the sense is probably 'after conveying (them)'.

6 [69] Καῦνος has been taken by some as the name of the father, but this seems most improbable (the personal name is otherwise unattested). Kaunos, on the Carian coast, was the site of an important Ptolemaic naval base, and there are many reasons why a young man from Alexandria may have been in that city. **μαλερῶι … πυρί** occurs in a verse which appears twice in *Il.*, μηδ' ὁπότ' ἂν Τροίη μαλερῶι πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται / καιομένη

(20.316–17, 21.375–6). **ἔδαυσε** ‘burned away’, an otherwise unattested aorist of δαίω, see LSJ (A) II; as -δαυ- is found in some passive forms of the verb, the form, in place of ἔδαισε, is easily explicable. δαίω is found with μαλερῶι πυρί in Homer (see previous note), and cf. *IGUR* III 1204.10 (second century AD) σάρκας μὲν πῦρ νῶ[ιν ἐδαί]σατο, ὀστὰ δὲ κτλ. The transmitted ἔδευσε could only mean ‘drenched’ (cf. Anyte, *AP* 7.208.4 (= *HE* 699)), and gives no appropriate sense (despite Leo 2014); Lattimore 1942: 176 translates ‘melted away’, but there is no evidence for such a meaning.

XVI *GVI* 922

An epitaph for Alexandros, son of Satyros, from Corcyra; the dominant dialectal colour is Doric, as is natural on that island. The poem is clearly Hellenistic. In 228/7 BC Rome took under its control the Illyrian coast and put an end to Illyrian incursions against the coastal cities and to what is, in Polybius’ narrative (2.11–12), ‘state-sponsored’ piracy (cf. 2.4.9 λῄιζεσθαι); Corcyra played an important role in these events, and Kaibel’s suggestion that Alexandros’ heroic deeds against λῃσταί, ‘pirates, plunderers’, in 5–6 must pre-date this *pax Romana* has generally been accepted. Polybius certainly presents piracy as a normal part of Illyrian life (2.8.8), but it cannot be regarded as certain that 5–6 do indeed refer to the Roman suppression of the Illyrians (see further 6n.), particularly as we are dealing with the encomiastic rhetoric of epitaph, not an historiographical document.

1–2 [70–1] Word order is here evocative, if not actually imitative, of sense: as the mother is ‘poured around’ her son’s tomb, so ἀποφθιμένοιο … παιδός surrounds τάφωι περὶ τῶιδε. **μυρί’ … μύρατο:** the sound-play suggests the persistence and intensity of mourning. For such an opening cf. Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.141.1 (= *HE* 338) μυρία τοι, Πτολεμαῖε, πατὴρ ἔπι, μυρία μάτηρ κτλ. **ἀποφθιμένοιο:** a Homeric word and genitive sets the style which will prevail through the poem. **χυθεῖσα** evokes and varies Homeric usage, particularly ἀμφ’ αὐτῶι χυμένη λίγ’ ἐκώκυε of women mourning beloved men at *Il.* 19.284 and (with a slight difference) *Od.* 8.527. The usage is particularly effective here, as tombs are where both libations and tears are literally ‘poured’. **μύρατο:** this may be the earliest instance of this aorist, which does not otherwise appear before late Hellenistic (e.g. [Moschus], *EB* 37, 89) and imperial poetry. The absence of the augment is another Homeric, high-style feature, cf. θέτο in 3, κτεῖνεν in 6. **Καλλιόπα:** the name is well attested all over the Greek world. Given the general style of the poem, it is tempting to think also of Calliope, the chief Muse (Hes. *Theog.* 79) and patron of epic (Harder

2012: II 150–1); the mother's weeping is also the lamentation of funerary poetry in the Homeric style.

3 [72] ὠκύμορον: Homer uses the term in the singular only of the ὠκύμορος *par excellence*, Achilles (*Il.* 1.417, 505, 18.95, 458); particularly relevant here may be 18.95 *ὠκύμορος* δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι κτλ., cf. 88–9 ἵνα καὶ σοὶ *πένθος* ἐνὶ φρεσὶ *μυρίον* εἴη / *παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο*. **ἄτεκνον:** in the normal order of things, Alexandros should have been buried by his children, not by his mother. The adjective, together with the poem's silence on the subject, may also suggest that Alexandros was unmarried. **θέτο:** the unaugmented aorist continues the Homeric style.

4 [73] ἑπτακαιεικοσέτους fills the first half of the pentameter. Such effects with adjectives of this kind are common, cf. *701*, SGO 01/12/20.4 ἐννεακαιδεχέτις (second half of pentameter), *GVI* 1709.2 τεσσαρακαιδεκέτης (first half of pentameter), Asclepiades, *AP* 7.11.2 (= *HE* 943) ἐννεακαι-δεκέτευς (second half of pentameter); see Sens 2011: 191, 223. In a hexameter epitaph from imperial Thrace, the dead is ὠκύμορος ... / πεντεκαιεικοσέτης (*GVI* 976.2–3). δωδεκέτη at the head of Call. *Epigr.* 19 (= *HE* 1249–50, quoted in *139*n.) gestures to, while avoiding, such familiar effects. **πνεῦμα λιπόντα:** see *548*n.

5 [74] ἵστορα παιδείας 'knowledgeable about education', i.e. both 'well educated' and 'intellectually curious'; this may be no more than an encomiastic way of saying that Alexandros had a normal school education (cf. *GVI* 945.5–6 θάλλων ... σελίσιν Μουσῶν, 2002.12 ἴδρις Ἀθηναίης εὐπαλάμου γραφίδος, both of young men), but it perhaps also suggests that the Homeric style and allusions of the poem are fitting for him. **τόξωι κλυτόν** is probably modelled on the Homeric δουρὶ κλυτός or δουρικλυτός (e.g. *Od.* 15.544, 17.71). τοξόκλυτος is found in poetry only at Bacchyl. 11.39, but was a standard example in grammatical discussions of compound epithets in -κλυτος and whether they should be written as one word or two (see e.g. Schol. *Il.* 22.51e), and our poet may have known the word from there. κλυτότοξος is a Homeric and poetic epithet of Apollo, cf. *GVI* 1709.1. We are perhaps to imagine that Alexandros shot from on board a ship at pirates on another ship, rather than in a land battle, see 6n.

6 [75] ἀνδροφόνους: in Homer this adjective is commonly used of Hector; here it contributes to the heroism and justice of Alexandros' deeds. **ἁλίαις ... ἐπὶ Στροφάσιν:** the Strophades, 'Turning Islands', were in legend where the sons of Boreas turned around and abandoned their pursuit of the Harpies (cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.284–97). Strabo 8.4.2

identifies them as two islands in the open sea west of the Peloponnese, roughly south of Zacynthos; this would fit ἁλίαις (Strabo calls the islands πελάγιαι), though we may wonder what Alexandros was doing in such a remote area. Hesiod (frr. 155–6), however, seems to have identified the Strophades with the Echinades which lie between the Aetolian coast and Ithaca and Cephallonia (see Hunter on Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1228–31); this would be a more obvious place for battles with λῃσταί, and could easily be fitted into the events which Polybius narrates (see above), but the Echinades are certainly not 'in the open sea'. **ἁλίαις** is another adjective of high poetic style. **κτεῖνεν:** for the omission of the augment see 2n.

7 [76] Ἀλκινόοιο: Corcyra had been identified with the Homeric Scherie, land of Alcinous and Arete, at least since the fifth century, cf. Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 77, Thucyd. 1.25.4, Howie 1989; the main town had a shrine of Alcinous (Thucyd. 3.70.4) and one of its three harbours was perhaps named for the Homeric king (Schol. Dion. Perieg. 494). A possibly contemporary funerary poem for the poet Philikos of Corcyra celebrates him as a descendant of Alcinous (*SH* 980).

8 [77] χαῖρ' εἰπών: after the accusative we would expect χαίρειν rather than the greeting χαῖρε, cf. e.g. *SGO* 01/12/20.7–8 τὰν κατὰ γᾶς Μύρτον … αὐδήσαντες / χαίρειν, *508–9*n.; the construction may change from one verse to the next, or the poet has imitated cases where Homer uses εἶπε, 'addressed', with the accusative rather than the dative, cf. *Il.* 12.60, K–G I 295. **ἀγαθοῦ παῖδ' ἀγαθὸν Σατύρου:** the chiasmus and anaphora raise the stylistic level of unpoetic words.

XVII *GVI* 749

This text, on Timokritos killed in battle with 'the Aitolians', derives from Thyrrheion in Acarnania; it was published by Klaffenbach 1935: 719 from a minuscule copy of the text in the possession of a local schoolteacher. The original stone from which the copy derived was by this time lost, and without it precise dating seems impossible. Nevertheless, as Polybius (4.6.2, 4.25.3) reports that the Aitolian League attacked Thyrrheion in 220 BC as part of the so-called Social War (220–217 BC, see Polybius 4.13.6 for the label) between the Aitolian and Achaean Leagues, it is not rash to associate the poem with those events. The explicit appeal to Tyrtaeus in the final couplet does not necessarily show that Timokritos himself was a Spartan or was fighting in a cause which the Spartans, who generally did support the Aitolians in the war, also supported, though it is at least

suggestive. In the absence of the original stone, nothing prevents us from accepting the now traditional date for this poem.

Friedländer 1942 argued that the author of the poem was the Damagetos to whom twelve epigrams are ascribed in *AP* and *APl* and who is acknowledged by Meleager as one of the poets from whom he has drawn (*AP* 4.1.21 = *HE* 3946); some of these epigrams are clearly linked to the Social War and show other thematic and stylistic links to the poem from Thyrrheion (recorded in the notes). Damagetos' poems also suggest links to Sparta, and this would suit the Tyrtaean colour of the epigram. The case for Damagetos' authorship is attractive, but uncertain; most of Damagetos' poems do not show the Doric colouring of the poem from Thyrrheion, although too much weight cannot be placed upon such dialectal difference (see Introduction, pp. 8–9).

Parts of Tyrtaeus' poetry had long been extracted from the original context and anthologised as promoting courage in battle and devotion to one's homeland. In his speech *Against Leocrates* (331/0 BC) the Athenian politician Lycurgus claimed, as had Plato's 'Athenian Stranger' before him (*Laws* 1.629b–c), that Tyrtaeus was actually an Athenian and cited fr. 10 as an illustration of how through his poems the Spartans 'are educated to bravery' (παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, cf. vv. 6–8 of the epigram); Lycurgus also claims that, when on military campaign, the men gathered in the king's tent to listen to Tyrtaeus' poetry, 'thinking that in this way most of all they would be willing to die for their homeland (πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος)', *Leocr.* 107. A later report claims that Spartan armies march in time to recitations of the elegies (Ath. 16.430f). Tyrtaeus was, above all, the poet of military ἀρετή, and the poem from Thyrrheion breathes this spirit.

Bibl. Friedländer 1942, Moretti 1975: 48–50, Cairon 2009: 203–6.

1–2 [78–9] τὸν Μούσαις ... τετιμένον does not necessarily mean that Timokritos was himself a poet, though he may have been; the phrase may just be a way of indicating his interest in poetry and culture, also attested by vv. 6–8. For other instances of the phrase cf. *GVI* 537.1, 1991.7. There may be some play between τετιμένον and Τιμόκριτον. **κόλπωι:** cf. *CEG* 551.1 (Athens, fourth century BC) σῶμα σὸν ἐν κόλποις, Καλλιστοῖ, γαῖα καλύπτει, *91*n. **κυδιάνειρα κόνις:** in *Il.* κυδιάνειρα is an epithet of μάχη (eight times) and ἀγορή (once), and presumably means 'which makes men glorious'. If that is the meaning here, 'dust' is likely to be used by a kind of metonymy for 'death': it is the manner of death and burial which determines whether a man has κῦδος. One ancient gloss for the term (e.g. *Etym. Gud.* κ351), however, offers 'which contains glorious men', and this – or perhaps 'which boasts of its men' – must be the sense of Σπάρτα κυδιάνειρα at

Damagetos, *APl.* 1.2 (= *HE* 1428) and later of *Or. Sib.* 14.171, where the adjective is applied to Rome. If the latter is meant here, then the reference will be to the earth of Thyrrheion which, like Sparta, 'boasts of its men'. On balance, the latter interpretation seems more probable.

3–4 [80–1] Cf. Damagetos, *AP* 7.231 (= *HE* 1391–4) … τεθνάμεν ἢ φεύγειν εἵλετ' Ἀρηϊμένης … Δωρικὸς ἀνήρ / πατρίδος οὐχ ἥβας ὀλλυμένας ἀλέγει, *AP* 7.541.1–2 (= *HE* 1399–1400) ἔστης ἐν προμάχοις, Χαιρωνίδη, ὧδ' ἀγορεύσας, / "ἢ μόρον ἢ νίκαν, Ζεῦ, πολέμοιο δίδου", Mnasalces, *AP* 7.242 (= *HE* 2626–30). **πάτρας ὕπερ:** for the recessive accent on a disyllabic preposition following its noun ('anastrophe') see K–B I 333–4, *CGCG* 24.37, 60.14; both πάτρας ὕπερ and ὑπὲρ πάτρας are found in funerary inscriptions. The thought goes back at least to the passage of Tyrtaeus which colours this epigram, fr. 10.1–2 τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα / ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧι πατρίδι μαρνάμενον, and cf. also Callinus fr. 1, Eur. *Ph.* 1001–2 οὐκ ὀκνήσουσιν θανεῖν, / πύργων πάροιθε μαχόμενοι πάτρας ὕπερ, *Tr.* 387. The most famous ancient example is Hor. *c.* 3.2.13 *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,* immediately followed by an encomium of *uirtus* (ἀρετή); for the Greek background to Horace see Nisbet–Rudd ad loc. and esp. Müller 1989. **ὡγαθός:** i.e. ὁ ἀγαθός. The 'good man' is here the brave soldier, cf. e.g. Tyrtaeus frr. 10.2, 12.10, 20. **ἤθελεν:** ἤθελε necessitates hiatus with the following ἤ, and final *nu* is very often omitted in inscribed poetry; the nature of our evidence, however, precludes certainty about the text here.

5 [82] πίπτει: a vivid narrative present (*CGCG* 33.54), cf. *25*, *340*n. **ἐν προμάχοισι:** cf. Tyrtaeus frr. 10.1, 21, 30, 11.4, etc. Mimnermus fr. 14.6; ἐν/ ἐνὶ προμάχοισι(ν) is an Iliadic formula, and cf. *11*. The motif appears in public inscriptions as early as *CEG* 10.10 (Athenian *polyandrion* of 432 BC). **μυρίον ἄλγος:** Homer has only the plural at *Il.* 1.2, but also πένθος … μυρίον (*Il.* 18.88) and ἄχος … μυρίον (*Il.* 20.282). μυρίον ἄλγος, however, ends a hexameter at Quint. Smyrn. 3.516, and it is not improbable that an earlier use lies behind the epigram here.

6 [83] τὰ παιδείας … καλά 'the excellent lessons of education'. **οὐκ ἀπέκρυπτε** picks up and reverses the 'concealment' of the opening verse.

7–8 [84–5] It is uncertain whether the reference is to a passage of Tyrtaeus available to us (cf. fr. 24 West); for the central role of (military) ἀρετή in Tyrtaeus' poetry cf. frr. 12.13, 43, Pl. *Laws* 1.630c. The pursuit of ἀρετή was central to Spartan ideology, see e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 241e–f. By being placed in the final verse of the poem, Timokritos' ἀρετή is given special emphasis, cf. *CEG* 10.12.

XVIII *SGO* 02/03/01 = *GVI* 1120

A poem, very likely of the second century BC, from Amyzon in Caria, telling the story of Demetrios who was murdered by a slave while he was in a drunken slumber; the slave was then brutally punished by the citizens of the town. The poem is engraved on the lower part of the face of the *stēlē*; the upper part probably had a painted image, and an inscription above the poem identifies Demetrios' father as Pankrates. The poem was very likely commissioned by Demetrios' family (see 5), presumably in part as a warning to other slaves; we learn very little about why Demetrios deserved to be 'wept by all'.

Bibl.: Marshall 1916: 174 (*editio princeps*, with photograph), Robert–Robert 1983: 260–3 (with photograph).

1–2 [86–7] announce the name and fate of the deceased. The verses may be understood as an announcement of the subject of the epitaph by the tomb itself, with something such as ἐνθάδε κεῖται understood (see Rossi 2001: 203–4); Demetrios himself 'speaks' vv. 3–6, as becomes clear from ἤλυθον in 4, and such shifts of voicing are not uncommon in epitaphic poems. Nevertheless, the style of the verses suggests that a reader who reaches v. 4 may well reinterpret 1–2 as spoken also by Demetrios, with εἰμί or ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι understood. The description of Demetrios' 'sweet slumber' is characterised by poetic language reminiscent of the 'literary' sympotic epigrams of the third century; the very best face is thus put upon Demetrios' drinking, and savagery enters the poem with great force in 3. Rather different are *SEG* 61.1095, a young man dies δυσβουλίαι κύλικος and 27.571, a twenty-two-year-old dies πολὺν οἶνον ἀπνευστὶ / ἄκρατον πίνων; cf. further Antipater Thess., *AP* 7.398 (= *GP* 423–8), on a man who fell to his death from a slippery path after too much to drink, *SEG* 60.1123, an old fisherman who died drunk and happy. **γλυκὺς ὕπνος:** a Homeric formula, cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.160, *Od.* 9.333, Theocr. 11.22–3; the last two passages refer to the Cyclops, who, together with Elpenor, was the best-known paradigm for the dangers of too much drink. **Βρομίου**, 'the Roarer', a very common title in poetry and cult for Dionysos, cf. *303*n., Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 1. As often with the name 'Dionysos' itself, here Bromios is little more than a metonymy for 'wine'. **νεκτάρεαι:** the connection between 'nectar' and wine' is found already at *Il.* 1.598; the Cyclops describes Odysseus' wine as ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος … ἀπορρώξ (*Od.* 9.359). Cf. further Pind. *Isth.* 6.37, Call. fr. 399.2 (= *HE* 1342), Theocr. 7.153. **προπόσεις** are, strictly speaking, 'toasts', but may refer to rounds of drinks, cf. Asclepiades, *AP* 12.135 (= *HE* 894–7) on a symposiast betrayed by αἱ πολλαὶ … προπόσεις.

3–4 [88–9] σφαγιασθείς 'slaughtered'; the verb is normally used of ritual sacrifice and suggests that Demetrios' throat was cut. The word break after a fourth-foot spondee is a breach of 'Naeke's law', see West 1982: 154–5, Fantuzzi–Sens 2006: 116–17. **πυρὶ πολλῶι / φλεχθείς:** the π ~ φ alliteration is probably intended to emphasise the horror of the deed. The implication is that the murderous slave set fire to the house in an attempt to conceal what he had done.

5–6 [90–1] After a cremation the relatives collect (ὀστολογία) what was left of the deceased amidst the ashes (cf. e.g. *68–9*, *Il.* 23.252–4, Soph. *El.* 1139–40); here there has been a 'cremation' of a quite different kind. There is another breach of Naeke's law in 5, here partly mitigated by forward-leaning καί, cf. 3–4n. **ὄφρα** here introduces a result clause with a past indicative verb, as though it were ὥστε; the usage is hard to parallel and may be a further attempt at Homeric high style. **πρέσβεα**, 'reverend', is a unique feminine form of πρέσβυς; Homer uses πρέσβα.

6 [91] εἰς κόλπους: Demetrios' relatives gathered his remains 'into their laps', a pathetic image of grief. Merkelbach–Stauber understand 'into the hollows (of an urn)', but that seems too much to ask a reader to supply. Tombs and the earth standardly hold the dead ἐν κόλποις in funerary poetry.

7 [92] ἐμοὶ τὸν ἐμὲ ῥέξαντα τοιαῦτα: the repeated pronoun emphasises the justice of the punishment. ἐμοί is a 'dative of advantage' (*CGCG* 30.49): the punishment was exacted 'on behalf of' Demetrios.

8 [93] The slave was hung up (probably crucified) alive for animals and birds of prey to feed on him; the verse likely evokes *Il.* 1.4–5 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν / οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι to emphasise the horror of this death. Although there is much more Roman than Greek evidence for such punishments, notably crucifixion, the slave's fate was probably of an only too familiar kind, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 308 ζῶντες κρεμαστοί (with Griffith's n.), Latte, *RE* Suppl. 7.1606–8, Hengel 1977: chap. 10, V. J. Hunter 1994: 154–84, Fitzgerald 2000: chap.2, Hopkins 2018: 398–424.

XIX *GVI* 1832

A poem in iambic trimeters from second-century BC Astypalaia; Doric long alpha is used throughout. ἴσχ' ὁδοιπόρε in 2 suggests that what precedes is a 'self-advertisement' in the voice of the inscribed *stēlē*. The plural in 3 may be a poetic plural used by the passer-by, or spoken by one passer-by to his companions, or a continuing invitation by the inscribed *stēlē* itself to

co-operate in an act of decipherment and reading; a variation of this last version is to see the voice which described the *stēlē* in 1–2 and then issued the invitation to decipherment as that of the poet behind the inscription. That this last is in fact the most probable is suggested by a striking parallel in the one surviving epigram of Heraclitus, who was made famous by Callimachus' epitaphic poem (*Epigr.* 2 = *HE* 1203–8) in his honour:

> ἁ κόνις ἀρτίσκαπτος, ἐπὶ στάλας δὲ μετώπων
> σείονται φύλλων ἡμιθαλεῖς στέφανοι·
> γράμμα διακρίναντες, ὁδοιπόρε, πέτρον ἴδωμεν,
> λευρὰ περιστέλλειν ὀστέα φατὶ τίνος.
>
> Heraclitus, *AP* 7.465.1–4 = *HE* 1935–8

> The earth is freshly dug, and on the face of the *stēlē* wilting garlands of leaves blow around. By deciphering the inscription, traveller, let us see whose smooth bones the tomb declares that it embraces.

Here too the passer-by is invited to take part in a collaborative act of reading with someone else, who is most probably identified as the creator of the inscription and the poem, cf. Hunter 1992b: 115–16. The passer-by and the poetic voice which accompanies the act of decipherment will together read the inscription. The similarity between the two poems is a suggestive example of the interchange between 'literary' and inscriptional poetry throughout the Hellenistic period.

Bibl. Inglese 2010a.

1–2 [94–5] οὐκ ἄσαμος, 'not without a signifying image', presumably directs the reader to an image of Epigonos as a fighter (2), cf. *38–9*. The litotes (*482–3*n.) encourages the viewer's admiration. Very similar is another Doric poem in trimeters, Bernand 63.1–3 (Hellenistic Alexandria) ὁ τύμβος οὐκ ἄσαμος, ἁ δέ τοι πέτρος / τὸν κατθανόντα σημανεῖ κτλ.; there the 'signification' of the tomb must refer to the inscription, not to an accompanying image. **ἔμπνοος ... ῥώμα:** the image depicts Epigonos' prowess so vividly that it seems to be alive, cf. *EG* 860.3 εἰκόνα ... μορφᾶς τύπον ἔμπνου, *GVI* 1298.1 (an image on the tomb) ἔμπνουν φθεγγομένην. **φιλόπλου:** this is perhaps the earliest attestation for this adjective, other than Dioscorides, *AP* 11.195.1 (= *HE* 1691).

3 [96] στάσαντες: the aorist is the required tense (cf. e.g. *GVI* 1015.12, 1298.2, 1317.1), and the error was presumably a simple haplography.

5 [98] Λέπτωνος: *LGPN* I records five examples of this name from the Aegean islands, three of them from Astypalaia. **Ἐπίγονον:** the name of the deceased necessitates the only instance of a resolved long syllable in the poem.

6 [99] κούφα: the traditional wish (Introduction, p. 30) is here a reality. **πάτρας ἀρωγόν:** the inscription cannot be dated with sufficient precision to allow a guess at the occasion on which Epigonos came to his homeland's aid.

XX *GVI* 632

A poem for a cenotaph in Athens from probably the mid second century BC (see Tracy 1990: 149, 161–2). Above the poem the stone tells us (see 7) that the dead man, who speaks the poem, was Nicias, the son of Nicias, from Eretria in Euboea; he seems to have died and been buried in Oreos in northern Euboea (see 2), a town with close links to Athens, see Strabo 10.1.3–4, *RE* Suppl. 4.749–50. It seems that the cenotaph also commemorates Nicias' young son, though the circumstances and place of his death are not specified (but see 2n.); it is normally assumed that he died and was buried with his father. As the young boy is apparently introduced very suddenly in 3–4, the assumption of a lacuna of at least one distich is the most plausible explanation for the awkwardness; this couplet may also have clarified the otherwise sudden first-person ἄμμιν in 5. Nicias' wife may also have appeared in the missing verses, as she enters without any introduction in 5. If the assumption is correct, we have an interesting example, together probably with yet another mistake in 3, of how copying errors might be left uncorrected on the stone, see Introduction, pp. 16–17. An alternative interpretation is that the Nicias commemorated on the stone is the young child, not the father; this might obviate the need for a lacuna, but it is very unlikely that 5–6 should represent the words of a young child.

Although the poem, particularly towards the end of verses, is very difficult to read, it is clear that it is marked by unusual expression and imagery, notably in 3–4; during the Hellenistic period, epitaphic expression and imagery was probably much more varied and inventive than the surviving evidence allows us to know.

Bibl. Vérilhac 1978: 129–30, Bousquet 1988: 305–6, Cairon 2009: 46–9.

1–2 [100–1] σῆμα ... σῶμα: the play on 'tomb ~ body' goes back to Pythagorean and Presocratic ideas, cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 493a3 (with Dodds's n.), *Cratyl.* 400c. **κενεᾶι:** the Doric form will be another example of the

common persistence of partial Doric colouring in Ionic epitaphs of the Hellenistic period (Introduction, pp. 8–9). **ἕδρα / Ὠρείου**, if correctly read, is apparently a periphrasis for Ὠρεός, the usual form of the name of the Euboean town, with a lengthening of the middle vowel; Ὠρειοῦ should perhaps be printed here. αἶα would be a much more expected noun. Ὠρεός is not attested as a personal name; otherwise, in view of the general uncertainty of readings at verse-end, it might be tempting to see it as the name of the dead boy, i.e. Ὠρείου ... φθιμένου. **πυρκαϊὴ φθιμένου** 'the pyre which a dead man receives' cf. *GVI* 1005.4 (late Hellenistic) στύγιον πυρκαϊὴν φθιμένων. If the text as printed is correct, this phrase must be in a somewhat awkward apposition with ἕδρα / Ὠρείου, but dative πυρκαϊῆι (Bousquet), '(killed) by a fire', is adopted by some editors. Bousquet suggests that both father and son were killed in a fire and that one might read φθιμένων at the end of 2.

3 [102] Cf. *Il.* 5.408 (the fate of someone who fights against gods) οὐδέ τί μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γούνασι παππάζουσιν (lit. 'call him πάππα'), a verse well known to the grammatical tradition; the Homeric echo sits well with the poetic ambition of the poem, and the Homeric context also reflects upon Nicias' own piety. The affectionate image suits Nicias' fond memories of his child (cf. e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 609, Call. *h.* 3.4–5); other epitaphs also show an interest in recalling the details of childish speech, see *528*n. The stone reads παπταίνοντ', 'looking around, gazing' (see *LfgrE*), a verb applicable to people of any age, but although young children's eyes wander everywhere (see Vérilhac 1982: 139), παπταίνειν, unlike παππάζειν, is not characteristic of them. The error perhaps arose from an anticipation of the sense of δεδορκώς at the end of the verse. **δεδορκώς** 'catching sight of', see LSJ δέρκομαι I 2a; this participle appears only once in Homer, *Od.* 19.446 (the boar which wounded Odysseus).

4 [103] Although Thanatos is standardly represented as winged, this is not the case for Hades, see *LIMC* Hades, Thanatos, Vermeule 1979: 37–9 and chap. 5, Spivey 2018. At Eur. *Alc.* 259–62, however, Alcestis has a vision of being dragged to the Underworld by ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυαναυγέσι / βλέπων πτερωτὸς ᾍδας (see Parker ad loc.); Thanatos himself is μελάμπτερος (*Alc.* 843). The image of death as Hades 'casting his dark wings' around his victim does not appear elsewhere in ancient epitaphic poetry, but cf. Antipater, *AP* 7.713.3–4 (= *HE* 562–3), on Erinna 'escaping' death, οὐδὲ μελαίνης / νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερῆι κωλύεται πτέρυγι. Simonides, *AP* 7.251.2 (= *FGE* 715) uses the same verb in a different way: κυάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλοντο νέφος, 'they put on around themselves the dark cloud of death'. **οἷ** 'for him', Ionic dative singular of the personal pronoun.

5–6 [104–5] 'And she, cherishing the pious passion (lit. Kypris) of our bed, vowed a mound for us'. Both the text of the end of 5 and the interpretation of the couplet are difficult. If correctly read, εὔξατο … / χῶμα would be a regular construction (LSJ εὔχομαι I 3); the juxtaposition of Κύπριν εὔξατο might suggest that we are to understand 'vowed by Kypris (to raise) a mound for us', but such an accusative of the deity in an oath is barely attested (cf. Antipater Thess., *AP* 9.268.2 = *GP* 210) and would necessitate taking ὁσίαν as 'holiness', cf. Bernand 19.11 (the widow) στοργῆς μοι τριετοῦς εὐσεβίην θεμένης. Metrical considerations seem decisive against emendation to (ἐ)τεύξατο. **ἄμμιν** 'for us', a poetic imitation of such forms in Homer. The hiatus in εὔξατο ἄμμιν is of a not uncommon type. **ξεστῶι:** see *136*n. **γράμμ' ἐτύπωσε** could in principle refer either to an image or an inscription (cf. e.g. *GVI* 1443.7), but it is much more likely that it here refers to the inscription we are currently reading. The active verb gives particular agency to the widow in the design of the cenotaph.

7 [106] The names do indeed survive, inscribed in larger letters above the poem; the two names are the same, Νικίας Νικίου, but there does not seem to be any play made with that.

8 [107] 'But be on your way and may you achieve the goal of your honorable journey', cf. Herodes, *GVI* 1151.21 (= Bernand 5.21) καὶ σοὶ δ' εὐοδίης τρίβον ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶναι, *SEG* 57.733 χαῖρε καὶ ἂν ἀνύεις ἀτραπὸν ἐκτελέσαις, *7*n. **ἀγαθῆς τ':** τε is postponed for metrical reasons; the 'natural' order is τέρμα τ' ἀγαθῆς.

XXI *GVI* 945

A poem from second-century BC Chios for Dionysios who died aged sixteen (see 1n.). The poem is marked by an extended metaphor of life as a race to be run. Although the poem is from Ionian Chios, there are a number of clear Doric forms (e.g. ζωᾶς 3, Ἀΐδαν 6, μᾶτερ 7), see Introduction, pp. 8–9.

1 [108] 'As I was passing into the seventeenth year of my life …'. **λυκάβαντα:** a Homeric word which is very common in metrical inscriptions.

2 [109] **ἅρπασε:** unaugmented aorist. On this verb in epitaphs see *681*n. **θαλάμους … Φερσεφόνας:** 'the chamber(s) of Persephone' is a common image for death in epitaphic poetry, cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 1022 (Euadne) Φερσεφόνας ἥξω θαλάμους, Tsagalis 2008: 86–134.

3–4 [110–11] The 'race of life' was a common poetic image, cf. Epicrates fr. 3.14, *GVI* 1331.4, Arnott 1996: 668–9. The imperfect verbs confirm that Dionysios' fate was part of a long-arranged plan. **λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾶς** 'the torch-race of life'. A 'torch-race' was a race in which either individual runners or relay-teams raced to carry a lit torch from one (often sacred) location to another; if the torch went out, then the runner or the team dropped out of the race, cf. Ar. *Frogs* 131–3, 1087–98, Pausanias 1.30.2, *RE* 12.569–77, Diggle 2004: 479, Bentz 2007, Dover on Ar. *Frogs* 131. Although most of our evidence concerns Athens, torch-races were held in many states over the Greek world. Such races were particularly associated with young men, and when the race was a relay, each runner would run a comparatively short distance; for these reasons a short life can be compared to a torch-race. The contrast with γήρως does not imply that ζωᾶς here is to be understood as 'youth'. **δαίμων:** see *386*n. **τὸν δὲ μακρὸν γήρως … δόλιχον** 'long distance-race of old age'. δόλιχος, lit. 'long', functions in such expressions as a noun. The 'long race' was normally run in stadia and the number of laps demanded might vary from place to place, see *RE* 5.1282; the nearest modern equivalent is something like the 10,000-metre race. **ἐτίθει** 'set up, staged (for me)'; Fate, acting as ἀγωνοθέτης, did not include a 'long race' in the plan for Dionysios, see LSJ τίθημι VI.

5 [112] See *186–8*. **ἐφηβείαις … ἀκμαῖς** 'youthful prime'; for related phrases see LSJ ἀκμή II, Finglass on Soph. *OT* 740–1.

6 [113] By the claim that Dionysios was also flourishing 'in the columns (σελίσιν, cf. *151*n.) of the Muses', no more is probably meant than that he had had the ordinary education in poetry of the elite.

7 [114] A request by the deceased that those left behind should cease mourning is a very common epitaphic motif, see Introduction, p. 7.

8 [115] Elements repeated from 1–2 close the poem in ring-composition; for repeated Μοῖρα cf. e.g. LXVII. **τέρμα**, which can mean 'turning-post', picks up the athletic image of 3–4, see LSJ I. **εἴς με** 'for me'; μοι would be more common in such an expression.

XXII *SGO* 05/01/50 = *IK* 23.513 = *GVI* 1179

A second-century BC poem from Smyrna for two brothers who both died very young. The two are named on the monument as Metrodoros and Matreas, but the former's name cannot be used in dactylic verse (cf. *204*n.), and so only Matreas is named in the poem; at *SEG* 46.1571.1

(Hellenistic Lampsacus) the name Metrodora is accommodated to a hexameter as Μητροοδώρα. The poem begins with a very marked Doric colour (see Introduction, pp. 8–9), but reverts in the second half to the Ionic expected in Smyrna; the Doric heightens the self-conscious (see 2) poetic image of the opening verses.

1–2 [116–17] Cf. *GVI* 805.3 (Nisyros, also second century BC) φήμη κηρύσσ[ει … ε]ὐσεβὲς ἦθος ἐν ἀστοῖς, *SGO* 01/20/26 (Miletos, probably Hellenistic) καρύξει φάμα φέγγος ὕπ' ἀελίου; these parallels suggest an epitaphic language shared by many poets. 'Report' or 'fame', which is usually spread orally (cf. λάλος), is inevitably set in stone in epitaphs; the motif of 'letters which speak without a voice' (see *60–1*n., *153*n.) allows poets to claim for their poems some of the wide possibilities of transmission associated with poetry not written on stone. **ἁ λάλος … Φάμα:** cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9.137, *Pont.* 2.9.3 *fama loquax*, *124*n.; Virgil epicises the motif at *Aen.* 4.183 (*Fama*) *tot linguae, totidem ora sonant.* For the personification of 'Report' in general see Hardie 2012; the motif goes back to Hes. *WD* 760–4. **ἐν ζωοῖσι:** probably to be taken with λάλος, rather than with καρύσσω. **τὰ μὴ ζώοντα** are probably the inert letters of the inscription, here almost brought to life by 'chatty Report' (see above). Others understand the phrase to refer to the dead (see 5), but the neuter would then seem very awkward. **παρ' ἀστοῖς** is better taken with καρύσσω (cf. *GVI* 805.3 cited above) than with τὰ μὴ ζώοντα. **καρύσσω:** cf. *Od.* 24.413 Ὄσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὦκα κατὰ πτόλιν κτλ., *Il.* 2.93–4, Chariton 1.5.1, 3.3.2 ἄγγελος Φήμη; Virgil adopts this motif also, cf. *Aen.* 4.188 (*Fama*) *tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri.* **μουσοεπεῖ:** the adjective is found only here. There is a pointed opposition to λάλος, which is associated with everyday chatter (λαλεῖν), not with the poetry of the Muses; in poetic epitaphs, however, Report must speak in verse. μουσοεπής may not have been as rare as it appears to us, but such a choice word sharpens the quasi-paradoxical juxtaposition to λάλος.

3–4 [118–19] Ζμύρνα πάτρα might be taken as an independent statement, with 'was' understood, but the lack of any following particles suggests that all three nominatives are the subjects of ἔκλαυσαν; the whole city wept at the deaths, cf. e.g. Bernand 67.7, *SEG* 62.1094.5 πᾶσα πόλις, πᾶς δῆμος, ὁμήλικες ὠδύραντο, Hunter 2010: 278–81. **Ζμύρνα:** both this spelling, with short final syllable, and Ζ/Σμύρνη are very common in inscriptions, see *RE* 3A.731–2. **πάτρα, γενέτας:** the juxtaposition and resulting chiasmus allow a kind of play 'land of my fathers' and 'father'. **Νάννιον:** a not uncommon name: *LGPN* va record five examples in Smyrna.

5 [120] ἐνὶ ζωοῖς picks up line 1 to make the point that what the dead leave behind 'among the living' is Report.

6 [121] If we imagine Report still to be speaking, she now adopts the style typical of the sympathetic anonymous voice of epitaph. **μοῖρα … τριετής:** the rather unusual phrase allows the etymological sense of 'portion, share' for μοῖρα to be felt more strongly.

7–8 [122–3] Aeacus, gatekeeper of the Underworld, is asked to show the dead boys the path to the abodes of the pious; the implication is that this is a task he has in fact already performed. For Aeacus in this role, found perhaps as early as Ar. *Frogs*, cf. *GVI* 1906.4 (imperial Rome), [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.12.6 (with Frazer's n.), Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 6.1 (where Aeacus acts as here as a guide), *On grief* 4, Dover 1993: 50–5. Aeacus seems to have played such a role already in the late fifth century, see Critias, *TrGF* 43 F1. **Ἀΐ[δε]ω:** scanned as four syllables, cf. e.g. *GVI* 662.4, Diodorus, *AP* 7.264.2 (= *GP* 2125), Schmidt 1968: 5–7. **πυλαουρέ** 'watcher of the gates'. The MSS of Homer and most ancient sources give the form with -ωρός, see *LfgrE*. **εὐαγέων ἐπὶ θώκους:** see *710–12*n. Earlier editors read ἐνὶ θώκοις, which is not impossible grammatically; the published photograph suggests that ἐπί is more likely. **σημήναις:** a polite aorist optative of request. **ἧι θέμις** 'as is right/appropriate' (cf. *508–9*n.), both because that is Aeacus's job, and because the abodes of the pious are where the two boys belong, cf. *SEG* 34.497.7–8 (Hellenistic Thessaly) εὐσεβέων εἰς νᾶσον ἄγων Ἐριούνιος Ἑρμᾶς / ἄμμιγα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὡς θέμις ᾤικίσατο. Ideas of a path to a particular part of the Underworld are paralleled in the instructions of the 'gold leaves' (Introduction, pp. 24–5), cf. e.g. *Orph.* fr. 487.5–8 Bernabé χαῖρε χαῖρε· δεξιὰν ὁδοιπόρει / λειμῶνας θ' ἱεροὺς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας.

XXIII *GVI* 1513

A poem of probably the second century BC from Cretan Knossos for Tharsymachos, son of Leontios, who very likely (though the poem is not explicit) died in the cavalry battle celebrated in 5–6. Standard Doric forms are appropriate to Crete, and some exceptions (e.g. ἠνεμόεντος 5, where see n., μοῦνος 5) are presumably due to a pervasive epic influence. The opening verses show a striking debt to famous passages of Homer and 'Simonides' (see 1, 2nn.). Kotsonas 2018: 8 speculates that the poem may have been written by Dioscourides of Tarsus or the epic poet Myrinos of Amisos, who are known to have written or performed compositions

in praise of Knossos in the late second century and are associated with a Leontios, who may be the same man as Tharsymachos' father, cf. Chaniotis 2010: 262–3.

In 5 are mentioned a people, Ἐρταῖοι, and a place, perhaps Ἔλαιος or Ἔλαιον; neither can be identified with any confidence. Ἐρταῖος is a well attested Cretan name (ten instances in *LGPN* 1), and the plural occurs, also in connection with fighting, in a roughly contemporary dedicatory epigram from Gortyn (Guarducci 1950: no. 243, and cf. also no. 244.11), i.e. from a quite different part of Crete. Guarducci's surmise that, for reasons we can no longer identify (perhaps it was the name of a legendary Cretan), Ἐρταῖοι could be used as a poetic term for 'Cretans' generally is both attractive and very uncertain; perhaps it was used originally for one grouping of Cretans and then was extended beyond the purely local. As for the place-name, this remains a mystery. Pliny, *HN* 4.59 names *Elaea* as an important town in Crete, and Ἐληά, 'Olive Tree', is a place-name near Knossos, but neither seems relevant here. A mountain named Ἔλαιον or Ἐλάϊον was known in Messenia in the Peloponnese and mentioned by the Cretan poet Rhianus (fr. 55 Powell, Pausanias 8.41.7), but there is no evidence connecting that mountain to a cavalry engagement, despite Guarducci's suggestion that the reference is to Philopoemen's last battle in Messenia (Plut. *Philopoemen* 18, etc.), and it seems more natural to seek a Cretan location.

Bibl. Guarducci 1934, 1935: 76–7 (with excellent photo), Vogliano 1953: 87–91, Martínez Fernández 2006: 63–70, Kotsonas 2018: 8 (with photo).

1 [124] Cf. *Od.* 24.93–4 (Agamemnon to Achilles in the Underworld) ὣς σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ θανὼν ὄνομ᾽ ὤλεσας, ἀλλά τοι αἰεί / πάντας ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους κλέος ἔσσεται ἐσθλόν, Ἀχιλλεῦ. The echo fashions Tharsymachos, whose very name identifies him as a heroic fighter, as a new Achilles; the Odyssean verses are also picked up in Theognis 245–6 (cf. also Tyrtaeus fr. 12.31–2) and *AP* 7.690.1 (= *GVI* 1514.1), and are cited in an imperial honorific decree from Oinoanda (Heberdey–Kalinka 1896: no. 65). For a variation on this idea cf. Eur. fr. 734 ἀρετὴ δὲ κἂν θάνηι τις οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, / ζῆι δ᾽ οὐκέτ᾽ ὄντος σώματος. οὐδὲ θανών begins a hexameter at *Od.* 11.554 (Odysseus to the still angry Ajax in the Underworld); this is echoed at Alcaeus, *AP* 7.536.1 (= *HE* 76) on Hipponax. **ὄνυμ᾽:** this form is 'common to nearly all, perhaps all, dialects except Attic-Ionic' (Buck 1955: 27). **φάμα**, here in a completely positive sense, takes the place of κλέος in the Homeric model; cf. e.g. *GVI* 553.4 (Hellenistic Syros) φήμην πατρὸς εὐκλεῆ, *116–17*n. and, in general, Hardie 2012: 50–7.

2 [125] Cf. 'Simonides', *AP* 7.251.3–4 (= *FGE* 716–17), οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεί σφ' Ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε / κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἀίδεω. The Simonidean epigram, whatever its origin (see Page 1981: 198), seems to have been well known in antiquity, and Tharsymachus' memorial is thus associated with the ἄσβεστον κλέος (*AP* 7.251.1) of another famous patriotic death. In a certainly 'literate' poet, such a combination of Homer and 'Simonides' would have been classed by modern critics as 'window allusion', i.e. (to simplify) allusion both to a model and the model's model. **ἀνάγει:** this verb is a standard term for 'bringing back' from the dead, see LSJ I 4. **Ἀΐδα:** Doric genitive.

3 [126] Θαρσύμαχε: the standard Cretan form; the name is very well attested on Crete (see Chaniotis 1992: 298–9) and, more commonly as Θρασύμαχος (which cannot be used in dactylic verse), throughout the islands. **τρανὲς ... ἀείσει:** lit. 'will sing distinctly/clearly [adverbial neuter]'. τρανής usually refers to 'clear' evidence or signs, and so here probably 'on the basis of clear knowledge/evidence', rather than 'in a clear voice'. The expression as a whole, when combined with the reference to memory in 4, may foreshadow epic poetry on Tharsymachos' exploits. **καὶ ὀψαγόνων τις** '(any)one also of men born in the future', an imitation of similar Homeric expressions (*Od.*1.302, 3.200); particularly important may have been *Il.* 7.87 where Hector foretells the epitaph of the man whom he will kill in the duel, καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων, see Introduction, p. 6. The form ὀψα- is not otherwise attested, but short alpha is found elsewhere in compounds where it is unexpected (K–B II 326), and there is no reason to assume error by the stonecutter (contrast 6).

4 [127] κείνας 'that famous', LSJ ἐκεῖνος I 2, Lat. *ille.* **θούρ[ιδ]ος ἱπποσύνας:** in Homer θούριδος ἀλκῆς is a formulaic verse-ending, standardly with verbs of remembering or forgetting; here such expressions are recalled, but the remembering is to be done by others, not by the hero himself. So too λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων is used of a dead warrior (*Il.* 16.776, *Od.* 24.40 (Achilles)), but Tharsymachos' horsemanship will never be forgotten.

5 [128] See above, p. 105. **ἐπ' ἠνεμόεντος Ἐλαίου:** the most common 'windy' (ἠνεμόεσσα) place in Homer is Ἴλιον, and Ἐλαίου perhaps recalls that epic location in sound.

6 [129] οὐλαμὸν ἱππείας ... φυλόπιδος: lit. 'the squadron of the cavalry battle', a strained expression for (presumably) 'the squadron [of the enemy] during the cavalry battle'. It is also unusual that the enemy are not identified;

word order demands taking Ἐρταίων … μοῦνος together, rather than Ἐρταίων … οὐλαμόν. **οὐλαμόν:** οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν occurs four times in *Il.* of the 'press' of men in battle (see *LfgrE*), but the noun later became a technical term for a cavalry squadron, cf. e.g. Polyb. 6.28.3, 30.5; Plut. *Lyc.* 23.1 classes it as a Spartan term for a troop of fifty cavalry in square formation. The word thus combines Homeric associations, strengthened by the Homeric term φύλοπις, with those of Tharsymachos' own time. **ῥήξαο:** second person singular aorist middle of ῥήγνυμι. **φυλόπιδος:** cf. *203*n. The error on the stone presumably arose by assimilation of the ending to ἱππείας.

7 [130] γενέταο: the original genitive singular of a first-declension masculine noun. **Λεοντίου:** like his son, the father bears a name well attested on Crete and the islands.

8 [131] μεγαυχήτων 'of whom report speaks great things', cf. *GVI* 750.4, where the term is applied to the dead man's father. The more common μεγάλαυχος (or μεγαλαύχητος at Paus. 1.13.3) is often negative in sense, 'greatly boasting', but need not be, cf. *GVI* 2038.25 (*269*n.). **μηδόμενος** 'planning, devising', i.e. Leontios and his ancestors were the models whom Tharsymachos actively sought to imitate.

9 [132] φθιμένων καθ' ὁμήγοριν 'in the gathering of the dead'. Just as Homer uses ὁμήγυρις for the gathering of the gods, so here we may think of the banquet or symposium of the dead, cf. 10n. The form ὁμήγοριν, rather than ὁμήγυριν, was perhaps influenced by ἀγορή, 'gathering, assembly', but short ο and υ are not infrequently interchanged in various dialects, see K–B I 121. **κλυτός** is never applied in Homer to Hades, who is however κλυτόπωλος (*Il.* 5.564, etc.); here, the epitaphic poet is unusually polite to the god of death, as he celebrates the honour which that god bestows upon Tharsymachos.

10 [133] ἷσε: unaugmented aorist of ἵζω; Homer has only εἷσε(ν). **πολισσούχωι** 'protector of the city', presumably Knossos (see on Idomeneus below). This title, more commonly πολιοῦχος, is applied to gods and, less usually, to heroes who watched over the safety of cities, cf. Call. fr. 43.77 (with Harder's n.), Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.846–7. **σύνθρονον:** lit. 'sharing a seat (of honour) with', cf. *GVI* 136.4, 642.6, 1162.6 σύνθρονος ἡρώων εἵνεκα σωφροσύνης, Eur. *Alc.* 746 (a wish for the dying Alcestis) Ἅιδου νύμφηι παρεδρεύοις. The principal resonance of the term, however, is 'alongside', in a place of great honour; cf. Theocr. 17.16–25, where Ptolemy I now dines on Olympos, ὁμότιμος with the gods on his golden θρόνος, Wypustek 2013: 34–5. **Ἰδομενεῖ:** Idomeneus, a descendant of

Zeus (*Il.* 2.651), was the overall leader of the Cretan ships at Troy (*Il.* 2.645–52, 3.230–3); his partner in battle and 'second-in-command' was his cousin Meriones (*Il.* 2.651, 13.295–305). Diod. Sic. 5.79.4 reports that they both returned safely to Crete and, on death, received 'distinguished burial and divine honours'; the Cretans treated them as heroes, sacrificed to them and called upon them as βοηθοί in war, see Kotsonas 2018: 10–11. Diodorus cites the elegiac inscription on their tomb at Knossos (= *AP* 7.322): Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὅρα [u.l. ὁρᾶις] τάφον. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι / πλησίον ἵδρυμαι Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου, see Gutzwiller 2010: 245–6. Verse 10 of our epigram makes Tharsymachos a 'new Meriones', sharing posthumous glory with Idomeneus; it is not improbable that the poet here evokes and varies *AP* 7.322: Tharsymachos is σύνθρονος with Idomeneus, as Meriones was 'established next to' him.

XXIV *SGO* 09/01/03 = *IK* 29.79 = *GVI* 661

A probably Hellenistic poem in iambic trimeters from Kios in Bithynia for a son buried by his parents. In v. 1 a proper name necessitates a resolution in the final metron, and in v. 4 ⏑⏑ — (an anapaest) replaces ⏑ —, see n. ad loc. Unaugmented aorists in 2 and 5 dignify the tone of the poem.

Bibl. Vérilhac 1978: 238–9.

1 [134] ὠκυμοίρωι: the only attested example of this form; the standard form ὠκυμόρωι (cf. 72n.) would be unmetrical. Similarly, δύσμοιρος occasionally replaces δύσμορος for metrical reasons (e.g. *SGO* 08/01/48.1, *GVI* 1272.3). **τοῦτον:** the reading on the stone is not entirely certain. **Ἀσκληπιοδότωι:** a very common name in Bithynia; *LGPN* va has sixty-five examples.

2 [135] Νόητος: a rare name, but certainly attested elsewhere in Asia Minor, see *LGPN* va. **εὐερκῆ:** a Homeric epithet of, e.g., doors or a courtyard, not elsewhere found of a tomb. As nothing else from the original monument remains, we cannot say how well deserved the epithet was.

3 [136] ξεστόν 'carved, hewn from stone', cf. *60–1, 104–5, GVI* 632.6, 1745.3, Eur. *Alc.* 836 τυμβὸν … ξεστόν (Alcestis' tomb), *Hel.* 986. **ἀμφὶ σήματι** 'beside, in front of the tomb', a rather loose use of ἀμφί, see LSJ I 2. The stone apparently reads ἄνω, but this is unmetrical and offers no obvious sense.

4 [137] πενταέτους: the only occurrence of this word in iambics, here producing a 'comic anapaest' in the second metron; the poet used the

form standard in dactylic verse. Correction to πεντέτους (Hopkinson, cf. *GVI* 1421.2) would produce a rarer form, but a more metrically regular verse. **εἰκώ:** accusative singular, as though the nominative was εἰκώ rather than εἰκών, cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 559, Eur. *Med.* 1162, LSJ εἰκών, K–B I 497. The image is unfortunately lost.

5 [138] κενὴν ὄνησιν ὀμμάτων 'an empty benefit for his eyes', in apposition to εἰκώ, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 353, Admetus' image (δέμας … εἰκασθέν) of the dead Alcestis will be ψυχρὰν … τέρψιν; for this use of κενός cf. Eur. *Hel.* 36 κενὴν δόκησιν (the phantom Helen), LSJ I 2. The phrase is markedly poignant, as ὄνησις is what was looked for from children, particularly to look after their parents in old age and to produce grandchildren for those parents, cf. e.g. Ar. *Thesm.* 469, Philemon fr. 143, Dem. 28.20. Curses on malefactors, such as those who disturb tombs, regularly include that they should have no ὄνησις of their children, see e.g. *TAM* III 1.814, V 2.1371. **χαράξατο:** middle, 'had (the image) engraved'.

6 [139] ἐλπίδων … χαράν: lit. 'the joy arising from his hopes'; the father's hopes were not just for his son's future, but also for the ὄνησις which he should have derived from him, see previous n. The ending of hopes is a familiar epitaphic and lamentatory motif, cf. *268*n., Call. *Epigr.* 19 (= *HE* 1249–50) δωδεκέτη τὸν παῖδα πατὴρ ἀπέθηκε Φίλιππος / ἐνθάδε, τὴν πολλὴν ἐλπίδα, Νικοτέλην, Eur. *Med.* 1032–5. **χαράν** perhaps sadly echoes χαράξατο.

7 [140] ἁ τάλαιν': the brief touch of Doric perhaps reinforces the reference to female mourning, see LXVIII introductory n.; alternatively, ἆ τάλαιν' (Hopkinson) would be an emotional parenthesis of a familiar type.

8 [141] νικῶσα 'surpassing', but with a resonance of 'defeating', as though the mother and the nightingale were in competition, cf. Ach. Tat. 1.14.1 θρήνων ἅμιλλα; female lamentation can indeed appear to have a 'competitive' element. **πενθίμην** 'grieving', largely poetic before imperial prose; the adjective is also used in the sense 'causing grief', cf. *550*, *GVI* 1358.2, 1473.1. **ἀηδόνα:** in the most common version, the nightingale was Procne, mourning ceaselessly for her son Itys whom she had killed in revenge for the fact that her husband had raped her sister Philomela, cf. Penelope at *Od.* 19.515–23 (ὀδυρομένην 517), Aesch. *Ag.* 1144–5, Soph. *El.* 107–9 (with Finglass on 107), 147–9, Call. *h.* 5.94–5, *GVI* 756.5 (Hellenistic), Cat. 65.13–14; for later, notably Roman, variations in the details see McKeown on Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.7–10. In Callimachus, *Epigram* 2 (= *HE* 1203–8), Heraclitus' 'nightingales' live on, to both mourn and celebrate him.

XXV *GVI* 1516

A poem from second- or first-century BC Orchomenos for Philokrates; a superscription to the poem tells us that he was from Sidon and that his father also was named Philokrates. The poem is remarkable not just for its relatively early celebration of a follower of Epicurus (cf. Phanias, *AP* 6.307 (= *HE* 3010–17), probably second century BC), but also for a striking and mannered style which poses various issues of interpretation. The Doric features of the poem are appropriate to Boeotia. For philosophers in Hellenistic inscriptions in general see Haake 2007 (summarised in *SEG* 57.2138).

Bibl. Decharme 1867: 498–501 (*editio princeps*), Cairon 2009: 168–72, Hunter 2016: 274–5.

1–2 [142–3] 'Not false to your earlier life, Philokrates, was the task you accomplished, made sharp in your intelligent mind.' Peek prints ἔργον as the clear reading of the stone, but earlier transcriptions report HB[or EBΓ[; ἔργον is not the most obvious noun to follow νόθον, and some caution about the reading seems necessary. **νόθον:** i.e. which belied, or was untrue to, its origins. **ἐκ:** probably 'on the basis of' rather than simply 'coming after'. **ἤνεσας:** an otherwise unattested aorist of ἄνω; emendation to ἤνυσας (< ἀνύω) seems, however, unwarranted. **σεῖο:** like προτέροιο, a Homeric form typical of inscribed verse. **θηγόμενος:** we might have expected a past tense, cf. e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.41 (of soldiers) αἱ ψυχαὶ τεθηγμέναι; τεθηγμένος is, however, less easy to accommodate in a pentameter than the present participle. The participle presumably refers principally (cf. γάρ in 3) to Philokrates' early education.

3–4 [144–5] ἀπὸ πράτας … / … ἁλικίας: a very mannered poetic hyperbaton. 'From earliest youth' is more commonly ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίης. **μεμελημένος ἦς** 'you were devoted to', a periphrasis of a common type for ἐμέλου, see K–G I 38–9, *CGCG* 52.51. For this participle see Call. fr. 75.76 (= 174.76 M) ἐτητυμίηι μεμελημένος (with Massimilla's n.), *GVI* 1996.5 φῶτα θεουδίηι μεμελημένον, 2010.3 ἤθεσι καὶ πινυτᾶι μεμελημένος εὐσεβίηι τε. **δόγμασιν** probably refers to the Κυρίαι Δόξαι of Epicurus, a title first attested in the mid second century, see Hunter 2016: 272–5; the Κυρίαι Δόξαι were the most widely available and easily accessible collection of Epicurean teachings. The second Δόξα, that 'death is nothing to us', is unsurprisingly ignored by the epitaphic tradition. **εὐξυνέτοις:** probably 'easy to understand', and hence suitable for the young to study; of persons, the adjective means 'quick at understanding'. A second-century

BC Attic epigram for a doctor praises him (in successive verses) for his εὐξυνέτοις πραπίσι and for mastery of the σοφὰ δόγματα of the doctors (*EG* 853). **ὡς θέμις:** philosophical training and the inculcation of philosophical attitudes should begin young. Epicurus' 'Letter to Menoeceus' begins: 'When young, do not delay philosophy, and when old do not grow tired of it; no one is too young or too old for what brings health to the soul'.

5–6 [146–7] 'After that, withdrawing by the rudder of Fortune from your life of wandering, you trained men for contests among the Minyai.' οἴακι is normally taken to depend upon εἴκων, 'yielding to the rudder', but this gives no meaningful construction to παλιμπλανέος βιότοιο; for εἴκω with the genitive, 'withdraw from', see LSJ I 2. **Τύχης δ' οἴακι:** Tyche and Fortuna are often depicted with a rudder or steering-oar, cf. Pind. fr. 40M, Kajanto 1981: 518–19, *LIMC* Tyche. Dio Chrys. 63.7 explains that this is because 'Tyche steers (κυβερνᾶι) the life of men'. **παλιμπλανέος:** the poet probably read the participle παλιμπλαγχθείς in Homer (*Il.* 1.59 (with West's apparatus), *Od.* 13.5), and cf. παλιμπλανήτην at Lyc. *Alex.* 1239. It is curious, in a poem for Philokrates of Sidon, that the only other attestation of παλιμπλανής is as a variant in a poem of Antipater of Sidon (*AP* 6.287.4 = *HE* 519). **Μινύαις:** i.e. the people of Orchomenos, cf. the nn. of Hunter and Campbell on Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.265–7, Hunter on vv. 1093–5. Minyas was often made the father of the eponymous Orchomenos; the city is termed Μινύειος in Homer (*Il.* 2.511, *Od.* 11.284). The heroic term continues an assimilation of Philokrates' wandering life to that of Odysseus or Jason; the Argonauts were standardly referred to as Μινύαι. **φῶτας:** a very poetic term. **ἐπαθλοκόμεις:** the only known instance of this verb; it may have been invented for the occasion, as most compounds in -κομέω have the object of the training as the first element (παιδοκομέω, ἱπποκομέω, etc.). Gymnastic trainers (παιδοτρίβαι) are commemorated in several surviving metrical epitaphs.

7 [148] Philokrates is buried alongside his son, somewhat as Achilles and Patroclus were buried together (*Il.* 23.83–4, *Od.* 24.76–7); Epicurus' own attitude towards having children seems to have been at least ambivalent, see Brennan 1996. **ἑοῦ** 'your'. The second-person use of this pronoun is Hellenistic, cf. Theocr. 17.50, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.634, Gow on Theocr. 10.2. **ψαύων μελέεσσιν:** probably 'touching [him] with your limbs' rather than 'touching his limbs'; in the latter case ψαύειν would be constructed with the dative (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.20, Headlam 1922: 210 n.1), rather than the regular genitive. The phrase gives a strange, almost erotic,

resonance to the reunion in death of father and son, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 365–9; for such ideas in epitaphs see Lattimore 1942: 248.

8 [149] ἄσμενος: of the five occurrences of ἄσμενος in Homer, four offer some version of ἄσμενος/-οι ἐκ θανάτοιο, 'glad to have escaped death' (*Il.* 20.350, *Od.* 9.63, 566, 10.134). Here that is paradoxically reversed: Philokrates is 'glad' to have escaped life.

XXVI *GVI* 1729

A poem for Inachos and his wife Kleio from (probably) late Hellenistic Cos; for a second century date see Fraser 1972: II 850. The opening, in particular, is very difficult to read on the marble.

There is very little modern agreement about the relationships of the characters commemorated on the stone (for a survey of modern views see Garulli 2017: 144–5); a prose inscription accompanying the poem may, as often, have made things much clearer for ancient readers. It is normally assumed, probably rightly, that Inachos was a slave (or a freed slave), see e.g. Raffeiner 1977: 29–32, although the comparison to Eumaeus and his 'master-loving character' does not by itself strictly necessitate this. More problematic has proved (i) the identity of Philiskos (5). The natural interpretation of v. 5 is that he is already in the Underworld, and will there greet Inachos and his wife; it is therefore likely that he was Inachos' (much younger, but predeceased) master, in which case παῖδα in 7 will mean 'when he was a child'. A variation on this would be that παῖδα refers to another son in the family who died young; Herzog 1923/4: 399–400 suggested that this was Κλεῖνος (a well attested Coan name) from 10, but it seems all but certain that κλεινόν should be read there. (ii) The 'son of Kleumachis'. Epitaphic convention suggests that the final couplet should normally refer to the principal subject of the poem, in this case presumably Inachos; his relatively low status might explain why he is celebrated through his mother alone. An attractive alternative for the 'son of Kleumachis' (so, e.g., *LGPN* I s.v. Κλευμαχίς, Φιλίσκος 63) is Philiskos, particularly if he is also the subject of 7–8; the focus of the poem would then move from servant/retainer to master, though it is harder to explain why Philiskos should be named through his mother alone.

In setting his composition to rival the power of Homer to bestow eternal fame, the poet reflects a familiar theme of Hellenistic poetry, see 3n., Hunter 2018: 7–10. The opening verses, in particular, suggest familiarity with the literary poetry of the Hellenistic period.

Bibl. Paton–Hicks 1891: no. 218, Reitzenstein 1893: 219–20, *ICos* EF 518, Höschele 2010: 115–19.

1 [150] πρὶν μέν: Homer now belongs to the past. The poet may have known *CEG* 313 = *AP* 6.138, where the poem is ascribed to Anacreon (*FGE* 508–9), concerning the dedication of a Herm: πρὶν μὲν Καλλιτέλης ἱδρύσατο, τόνδε δ᾽ ἐκείνου / ἔγγονοι ἐστήσανθ᾽, οἷς χάριν ἀντιδίδου. See further Höschele 2007: 345–6. **Ὁμήρειο[ι ◡ ◡]δες:** if]φίδες can indeed be read, then γλυ]φίδες, 'chisels', 'knives', and γρα]φίδες, 'pens' are virtually the only options. The latter would make a stronger contrast with the 'speaking stone' of 4; *EG* 980 celebrates a poet who used a γραφεῖον to engrave a poem at Philae. The following verse seems related to Posidippus, *SH* 705.6 = 118.6 A–B (the Muses) γραψάμεναι δέλτων ἐν χρυσέαις σελίσιν, and that too perhaps strengthens the case for γραφίδες here. At *GVI* 2002.12 (late Hellenistic) a young man is described as ἴδρις Ἀθηναίης εὐπαλάμου γραφίδος. In antiquity Homer is often described as 'writing' his poems, as 2 here makes clear, but in view of the doubt concerning what is on the stone, the text must be considered uncertain; Kaibel suggested πραπίδες. **φιλ[οδέσπο]τον:** the supplement is all but certain. φιλοδέσποτος is a standard description of Eumaeus in the Homeric scholia (Schol. *Od.* 2.52b Pontani, 14.68, 17.398), and this suggests that it was widespread in grammatical education. The very familiarity of the term proves the success of Homer in spreading the swineherd's fame. The Homeric Eumaeus very often expresses his devotion to his master, but δεσπότης, unlike δέσποινα, is not suited to hexameters and does not appear in Homer.

2 [151] Εὐμαίου: Homer's success in bestowing fame upon a swineherd, who would not normally be associated with anything golden, is a paradigmatic case of the power of his poetry, cf. Theocr. 16.54–5 (see 3n.). Eumaeus enjoyed a rich *Nachleben* in Hellenistic poetry, which often depicted scenes of ordinary life and hospitality, as in Callimachus' 'Victoria Berenices' (Molorchos) and *Hecale.* **ἔκλαγον** 'shouted aloud', strong aorist of κλάζω. This verb is not normally used to mean 'celebrate', 'make known', but the uncommon use emphasises the almost paradoxical notion that columns of writing have a voice (cf. 4, which offers a similar paradox for the inscribed poem). Cf. Posidippus 122.5–6 A–B = *HE* 3146–7 Σαπφῶιαι … φίλης … / ὠιδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμενοι σελίδες. Such epigrammatic play has a close ancestor in Theseus' horrified reaction to the written message which Phaedra has left behind, βοᾶι βοᾶι δέλτος ἄλαστα … οἷον οἷον εἶδον γραφαῖς μέλος / φθεγγόμενον τλάμων (Eur. *Hipp.*

877–80, where see Barrett's n.). **χρυσέαις ... ἐν σελίσιν** is very probably borrowed from v. 6 of the 'Seal' of Posidippus (*SH* 705 = Posidippus 118 A–B), see 1n., although references to the 'columns' of Homer's writing are not uncommon, cf. *SGO* 08/05/08 (cf. 196–7n.), *GVI* 1305.3, Garulli 2017: 143–6. In Posidippus, 'golden' is most naturally understood as the common idea that all the objects of the gods may be made of gold, and the transference ('hypallage') of the adjective is very easy, as δέλτων specifies an object which may have been golden (see Lloyd-Jones 1963: 85); Homer was indeed very often a 'god' in Greek schools, but the slight awkwardness of 'golden' referred to the 'columns' is perhaps another sign that the poet has a model here.

3 [152] Homeric forms (σεῦ, σαόφρονα), a Homeric phrase (καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο), and perhaps an evocation of the opening of the *Iliad* make clear that Inachos is in every way on a par with Eumaeus. **καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο** occurs in the same position at *Od.* 11.211 (Odysseus seeking to embrace his mother's ghost) and (in imitation of Homer) Theocr. 16.30 on the power of poets to preserve fame; Theocritus obviously had close connections with Cos, and our poet may well have known *Idyll* 16, see 2n. **μῆτιν ἀείσει** may perhaps play with the opening words of *Il.*, μῆνιν ἄειδε, see Höschele 2010: 116; the implication would be that Inachos' μῆτις, the quality for which the hero of the other Homeric poem was most renowned, will become as well known as Achilles' wrath. For the idea of the stone which sings cf. Anyte, *AP* 7.724.3 (= *HE* 678) καλόν τοι ὕπερθεν ἔπος τόδε πέτρος ἀείδει, Christian 2015: 62–6.

4 [153] ἀείμνηστον γράμμα λαλεῦσα πέτρη 'the stone, speaking its ever-remembered writing', a variation of the combination (or collapsing together) of oral and written performance already ascribed to Homer in 2. Euphorion, *AP* 7.651.2 (= *HE* 1806) ἡ κυάνεον γράμμα λαχοῦσα [Hecker: λαβοῦσα cod.: λαλοῦσα alii] πέτρη is close enough to make borrowing again likely. Although stones are almost proverbially mute (see 275n.), inscriptions 'speak to' those who read them, and the idea of a 'talking *stēlē*' is very common, cf. e.g. *SEG* 20.748 (Cyrene, early empire) τίς, πόθεν, ἡ στήλη δὲ λαλεῖ, Walsh 1991, Nollé 2001: 543, Tueller 2008: 150–4, *60–1*n. The idea is found early, cf. *CEG* 429 = *SGO* 01/12/05 (c. 475 BC) αὐδὴ τεχνέσσα λίθου κτλ., and epitaphic poets freely play with the idea cf. e.g. *IK* 44.226.4 στήλη δ' εἴ τι λαλεῖ, σιγῶσα φέρει, Bernand 27.9 (the stone speaks) τόνδε ἐγὼ σιγῆι τε καὶ οὐ λαλέουσα διδάξω. The motif of *CEG* 429 is picked up in *GVI* 1184 (imperial Galatia): the stone explains that it was 'born' ἄφωνος and ἡσύχιος, but the mason's art has now made it αὐδήεσσα ἅπασιν. **ἀείμνηστον** is a common term in both public and

private inscriptions (it is applied to a στήλη at *IG* XII Suppl. 333 (imperial Amorgos)). **λαλεῦσα** 'speaking'; there is no necessary implication of 'chattering', see LSJ I 3. -εῦσα is the Ionic contraction of -έουσα, cf. Κλευμαχίδος (for Κλεομαχίδος) in 10.

5–6 [154–5] Philiskos will presumably 'guide' Inachos because he is already dead and is himself in the 'home of the pious'. For the special area reserved in the Underworld for the pious cf. e.g. *201*, *487*, *SH* 980.1–2 (on Philikos) ἔρχεο δὴ μακάριστος ὁδοιπόρος, ἔρχεο καλοὺς / χώρους εὐσεβέων ὀψόμενος κτλ., [Pl.], *Axiochus* 371c–d, [Plut.], *Consolation* 120b–c, *710–12*n., Introduction, pp. 23–4. **ἐσθλὰ ... / δῶρα ... τίνων** 'paying splendid gifts as recompense'. The first vowel of τίνων is naturally long, but scansion as short is well attested, cf. Soph. *OC* 635, Eur. *Or.* 7.

7 [156] σήν τ' ἄλοχον Κλειοῦν must also be governed by ἄξεται. **ταὐτόν σοι:** adverbial, 'in the same way as you', 'equally to you', with τίουσαν. The phrase is, however, somewhat awkward in the context of Kleio's breast-feeding, and there may be some corruption in the text; this is the only hexameter which breaches Naeke's Law (*88–9*n.). Although Paton–Hicks's κλείουντ' αὐτόν σοι is impossible (the verb form is false and σοι would have no construction), ἄξεται is some way from this second object and another verb governing ἄλοχον would be welcome; this would also eliminate the apparent implication that Inachos and his wife died at the same time.

8 [157] 'from the spring of whose breasts he sucked when an infant'; μαστῶν depends upon πηγῆς, as a kind of genitive of explanation (Smyth §1322). For ἕλκειν of a baby at the breast cf. Pausanias 8.44.8, Libanius 59.30; the verb more usually refers to 'serious' wine-quaffing (see Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 417). Another striking image and poetic syntax (ἕλκειν with the genitive without a preposition) shows again the ambition of this Coan poet. **εἵλκυσε:** the imperfect (εἷλκε) might have been expected. Metrical demands might be responsible, but the poet perhaps recalls Eur. *Ph.* 987 (Menoeceus about Jocasta) ἧς πρῶτα μαστὸν εἵλκυσ'; in Euripides the verb is first, not third, person, but *Phoenissae* was one of Euripides' best known plays (see Cribiore 2001), and an echo of tragedy heightens still further the poetic image of the spring of Kleio's breasts. For epigrams honouring wetnurses cf. Theocritus, *Epigram* 20 Gow (= *HE* 3422–5), Wilhelm 1928, Rossi 2001: 305–22. **νηπίαχος** is not uncommon in inscriptions, but in literature is largely confined to Homer and high poetry.

9 [158] δυσάλυκτ' 'hard to escape'; although this word does not appear before Nicander, it is clearly a further poeticism, cf. *SEG* 48.937.3 (imperial

Thrace) Μοῖρα γὰρ ἡ δυσάλυκτος κατέκτανε κτλ. **τί τὸ τηλίκον ἔσχες ὄνειαρ** 'what is the great advantage you got from …?'

10 [159] Κλευμαχίδος: the masculine form Κλεύμαχος is well attested on Cos (seven examples in *LGPN* I). **ἀειράμενος** 'having carried off', like a prize Hades has won, see LSJ ἀείρω IV 1.

XXVII *SGO* 03/07/17 = *IK* 2.304 = *GVI* 1129

A late Hellenistic poem from Erythrai on the Ionian coast opposite Chios. Zosimos died in a storm at sea, but his body appears to have been recovered and cremated on land. The poem is characterised by a striking choice of imagery and poetic lexicon, a possible switch of voice in the final couplet, and self-conscious play with the traditions and voice of epitaphic poetry. The first three verses mislead us into thinking that Zosimos did not perish at sea, but in fact his life's navigation has now reached its final anchorage. The partial Doric colouring of vv. 5–6 may evoke the traditional dialect of lamentatory poetry, see Introduction, p. 7.

1–2 [160–1] The verses evoke and reject the familiar curse on ships and sailing, cf. e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1–2, Call. *Epigr.* 17 (= *HE* 1245–9), Nisbet–Hubbard 1970: 43–4, Lattimore 1942: 199–200; the motif goes back in various ways to Hes. *WD*, notably 687 δεινὸν δ' ἐστὶ θανεῖν μετὰ κύμασιν. Very similar is Antipater Thess., *AP* 7.639 (= *GP* 391–6) on someone who drowned in a harbour after escaping the dangers of the sea, πᾶσα θάλασσα θάλασσα. τί Κυκλάδας ἢ στενὸν Ἕλλης / κῦμα καὶ Ὀξείας ἠλεὰ μεμφόμεθα; κτλ. The relative chronology of the two poems cannot be securely established. The lively syntactical 'break off' in 1 by means of a parenthetic question shows the speaking voice going its own way, in resisting the formularity of tradition.

2 [161] The speaker has no cause to blame ships and the sea because he did reach 'harbour'; the real nature of that harbour is revealed in the following couplet. One hint, apart from the fact that the poem is clearly epitaphic, that all is not as it might seem is that the phrasing resembles that used to describe initiates into the mysteries, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 902–3 εὐδαίμων μὲν ὃς ἐκ θαλάσσας / ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ' ἔκιχεν, Dem. 18.259 ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον. **ἔκφυγον:** unaugmented aor. of ἐκφεύγειν.

3–4 [162–3] καθήρμοσα 'I fastened, put in place'; the verb would be very unusual with either object, but is better suited to attaching a rope than to hurling out the anchor; the zeugma is another mark of poetic

ambition. **τὸν ἐς Ἄιδην / ὅρμον** 'the anchorage at Hades', accusative of motion or goal without a preposition. Death as a harbour or anchorage, safe from the storms of life, is a very common epitaphic idea, cf. XLV, *CEG* 601.2 ὄλβιον εὐαίωνα βίου πλεύσαντα πρὸς ὅρμον, *GVI* 446.3 σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους τοῦτον ἔχω λιμέναν, 1185.4, 1833.10 κοινὸς ἐπεὶ θνατοῖς ὁ πλόος εἰς φθιμένους, Leonidas, *AP* 7.264.2 (= *HE* 2340), Soph. *Ant.* 1284, Seneca, *Ad Polybium* 9.6–7, Bonner 1941. **νυκτιμανοῦς** 'raging by night', the only attestation for this compound, though μαίνεσθαι is used of a wide range of powerful forces and emotions (LSJ I 2). The wind raged like a bacchant in Dionysus' 'mad' rites, cf. Erycius, *AP* 7.396.6 (= *GP* 2249) μαινομένωι … Βορέηι, Hor. *c.* 1.25.11–12 *Thracio bacchante … / uento*, Ovid, *Trist.* 1.2.29 *nunc sicca gelidus Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto* (with perhaps a play on ἀπαρκτίας, cf. next verse), or like a Fury, cf. 5n. **ἀπαρκιέω:** gen. sing. of ἀπαρκίας, a variant of ἀπαρκτίας, the name of a bitter north wind normally distinct from Boreas, cf. Arist. *Meteor.* 363b–4b, Diod. Sic. 1.39.6; the connection of the name to ἄρκτος is explicit in various texts. The rare name suits the knowledge of someone familiar with ships and sailing. ἀπαρκιέω is here scanned as five syllables.

5–6 [164–5] For the Doric colouring see above, p. 116. **μάστιξιν:** 'whips' is a strengthened image of the blows or batterings which bad weather deals out, cf. *Il.* 11.305–6 Ζέφυρος στυφελίξηι / … βαθείηι λαίλαπι τύπτων, Soph. *Phil.* 1457 πληγαῖσι νότου, *OLD uerbero* 3. The wind is envisaged as a Fury, who is sometimes depicted with a whip or a scourge made of serpents. **ἐλώμενος:** ἐλάω, for ἐλαύνω, is common in both Attic and Ionic, but this passive participle is found nowhere else.

7–8 [166–7] The second-person address of the final couplet, in which we are given the names of the dead man and his parents, is either spoken by Zosimos, here naming himself in a pathetic gesture of farewell, or by a 'passer-by' or reader of the poem; the adjectives describing Zosimos and the information the verses impart perhaps suggest that Zosimos is indeed still the speaker. Zosimos, like Nikomachos, is a very common name, Kallistion much less so, though attested in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. **προγένειον**, 'showing his first beard', presumably, like ἀρτίχνουν, indicates Zosimos' youth, though in the only other attestations of this word (Theocr. 3.9, Longus, *D&C* 1.16.5) the meaning seems to be 'with a full/projecting beard', cf. *SGO* 03/07/194, also from Erythrai, ὥρη / ὤλετο καὶ πρώτην ἣν ἀνέτεινα γένυν. The word here has the sense ἀρτιγένειος, cf. *GVI* 854.2 (a twenty-two-year-old), Diodorus, *AP* 9.219.5 (= *GP* 2104), Call. fr. 2d.4 Harder (where ἀρτιγένειος perhaps derives from the opening of the *Aitia*, see Harder 2012: II 114). **ἀρτίχνουν**

'with the down on his face just appearing', another very rare word, cf. *GVI* 1541.6 (a twenty-year-old); Zonas, *AP* 6.22.1 (= *GP* 3440) uses it of a quince in a poem almost entirely composed of new and rare compound adjectives. **πάρθεο**, 'you set beside', second person singular unaugmented aorist middle of παρατίθημι; the poetic exquisiteness of the term is increased by the apocope of the disyllabic preposition. The verb perhaps hints at 'entrusted to, laid in deposit with', see LSJ B 2a.

XXVIII *GVI* 1988

A pair of poems from late Hellenistic Imbros concerning the death of Kleophon's wife and son when their house collapsed (perhaps the result of an earthquake) as they slept. The text of the poems depends upon a transcription of 1890; only 1–4 and parts of 5–6 now survive on the original stone. The first poem is a third-person description of the tragic events, naming only Kleophon; the second a first-person address by the dead son, Kallippos. There are two (related) problems concerning the narrative of events. Kleophon returned and 'saw' his loved ones *and* (3) the collapsing house killed three people, but in 5–6 we learn that Kleophon 'alone survived' and lamented the destruction around him. In the second poem, ἀνιηρ[οῦ] (7) may suggest that Kleophon was left behind alive, but otherwise we might have understood that he too was killed when the house collapsed. Either, then, he survived the collapse, which perhaps happened on the very night of his return, or it happened before his return, so that he found his family already dead (see 2 μοῖραν προφανῆ); σώθη perhaps suggests 'got home safe' rather than 'was preserved' (see 5n.). On either interpretation, the problem of the third death remains. This is often explained by the assumption of the death of a servant (see 6n.), but there are significant difficulties with such an interpretation, and much remains uncertain.

1 [168] The pathetic anaphora is perhaps evocative of lament.

2 [169] μοῖραν προφανῆ 'very visible death'. **σχέτλιος** is here sympathetic, 'in his wretchedness', see LSJ I 3.

3 [170] On the temporal problem posed by this verse see above. **ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα** varies the Homeric νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην (e.g. *Il.* 10.83, 276, 386); ἀνὰ νύκτα occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 14.80).

4 [171] σταθμὸς ... δόμου 'the weight of the house'. Such phrases in Homer are often understood to refer to a central, load-bearing pillar

which supported the roof or to a door-jamb (see S. West on *Od.* 1.333, *LfgrE* σταθμός 2b), but it seems more likely that here σταθμός has a more general sense, 'weight' (LSJ III).

5 [172] Three initial spondees perhaps give a weight appropriate to the sense. **σώθη εἰς:** either 'he was saved (from the collapse) for [i.e. to endure] ... ' or 'he got safe home to ... ', see LSJ σώιζω I 1, II 2. **μόνος** is effectively framed by and contrasted with πολλούς and ἀθρόα to mark Kleophon's desolation. **ἀθρόα**, 'all together', looks forward to the individual elements of the following verse.

6 [173] ἀπροσπολίην: the noun is not otherwise attested. The first three nouns of the verse refer to the loss of Kleophon's son, wife and house, and Wilhelm 1909 (see also Morel 1930: 224–5) interpreted the new noun to mean 'the state of having no πρόσπολος' and saw this as explaining the third person killed in the collapse, namely a family servant. Only ΑΠΡΟΣ remains on the surviving part of the stone. It would, however, be remarkable for the death of a servant to be so obscurely indicated (and placed in the climactic position of the verse), and there is even less indication of any such event in the second poem; πρόσπολος is, moreover, a somewhat surprising term for a family servant or slave (cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1024). The noun, if correctly read, may perhaps indicate Kleophon's general desolation; Wilamowitz suggested that πολιήν may stand by itself to indicate Kleophon's desolate old age (LSJ πολιός 2).

7 [174] ἀνιηρ[οῦ] 'grieving, distressed', LSJ II; this is much less common than the active meaning 'distressing, painful'.

8 [175] Ἀριστόπολις: this and similar names in -πολις are much more commonly male.

9 [176] κοινῆι 'common, ordinary' (LSJ III 1), but also evoking the idea that death is 'common' to all (LSJ I).

10 [177] λυγαίου: a poetic adjective, first attested in tragedy, cf. *443*; here it describes the bedroom in the gloom of night. **κεκλιμένοι** 'laid low, laid in the grave', cf. e.g. Antipater, *AP* 7.493.2 (= *HE* 657), Mnasalces, *AP* 7.488.2 (= *HE* 2636). There may be play with the idea that κλίνεσθαι, 'lie down in bed', is what one would normally do in the θάλαμος.

11 [178] A fifth-foot spondee perhaps indicates the heaviness of the sleep which followed dinner. **μεταδόρπιον:** a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 4.194), here clearly understood to mean 'after dinner', cf. Pind. fr. 124.2 M, Strato, *AP* 12.250.1.

12 [179] The supplement (see apparatus) of Nikephoros, upon whose transcription we depend, would stress the parallelism between the 'gloomy bedroom' and the dark palace of death.

XXIX *SGO* 09/07/09 = *IK* 20.32

A probably Hellenistic poem from Kalchedon in Bithynia; a scattering of Doric elements (γᾶς, ἁνιοχεῦσι) are poetic stylistic features. The very top of the inscription, under an inset image of a young man, is broken, and there is also uncertainty about one reading in the last verse (5–6n.).

1 [180] The tombstone answers the passer-by's question; an inscription at the top of the *stēlē* also identifies the deceased as Hekataios, son of Hekataios. ὁμώνυμος may govern either the genitive (cf. e.g. *GVI* 728.7) or the dative (cf. e.g. *GVI* 245.3). Ἑκαταίου … πατρί, which Merkelbach reads on the stone, would be an awkward mixture, but it is to be noted that the stonecutter was forced to squeeze πατρί into a small space above ὦ ξένε, and ΠΑΤΡΙ takes up less space than ΠΑΤΡΟΣ.

2 [181] ἐφηβείην … χλαμύδα: a full cloak was the most familiar visual marker of an ephebe; the young man depicted on the *stēlē* is wearing such a cloak. **θηκάμενος** 'having set aside', aorist middle participle τίθημι, see LSJ A II 10c. ἀποθηκάμενος would be expected in prose.

3 [182] Hekataios is represented as devoted to the two activities of young elite males, literate education and athletics. **τῶι** 'to whom', the epic-Ionic form for ὧι. **σοφία** will refer to literate education in general; poetry is then specified in 4. **μεμέλητο:** see *303*n.; in form pluperfect, in signification imperfect. **εὐμόχθων** 'where toil is sweet/rewarding', cf. *GVI* 771.3 (similar context, first century AD Smyrna) εὐμόχθου ἐπὶ γυμνάδος, *SEG* 23.113 εὐμόχθου νίκης ἆθλα; it is striking that there is no attestation for the word in non-inscriptional texts, although a gloss in Hesychius ε6997, εὐμόχθων· τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῶν ἱδρώτων, suggests that the word was in fact not so restricted.

4 [183] γλυκεροὶ Πιερίδων κάματοι 'sweet labours of the Pierian Muses', i.e. poetry, cf. *GVI* 714.2 ὁ Πιερίδων γυμνασίου τε φίλος.

5–6 [184–5] 'The … Fates control the lives of mortals'. The text, but not the sense, is in doubt. A vertical mark on the stone after ΜΟΙΡΑ has been interpreted both as Ι and as a crack in the stone; Μοῖρα, however, produces an unmetrical verse, and a gnomic statement with που almost demands the present tense. At the end of 5 the best suggestion is ἀδευ[κής,

or with Μοῖραι, ἀδευ[κεῖς, 'harsh, cruel', or perhaps 'not to be predicted', see *LfgrE*, Hunter on Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1503; with Μοῖραι, ΑΓΑΡ in 5 can be retained only if interpreted as ἃ γάρ. **ἀνιοχεῦσι:** an Ionic and Doric third person plural present tense of ἀνιοχέω; ἀνιόχευσε would be third person singular aorist of ἀνιοχεύω. For the image, 'control the reins', cf. *GVI* 1139.6 (Hellenistic Crete) ἐμὸν μόχθοις ἡνιοχῶν βίοτον, 1737.6 (imperial Syria) a wife who was οἰκουρὸς δ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ βίου ἡνίοχος, *32*n.

XXX *GVI* 1420

A probably late Hellenistic poem from Chios; the first couplet is marked by Doric colour, perhaps to give the opening a specially poetic and encomiastic flavour. The dead is a young man called Protarchos, but the poem also records the earlier death of his sister Isias at a young age and that of his mother (or, less probably, stepmother), which seems to have been later than that of the deaths of the children. Not every detail is clear, but it would seem that the father too was called Protarchos. The monument may, as often, have made this clear. Unfortunately, the original stone is lost and so readings can no longer be checked.

1–4 are addressed to the dead man by the typical anonymous sympathiser; 5–8 tell the earlier story of the family and the new grief that the elder Protarchos has suffered; the final couplet addresses all the deceased.

1 [186] ἄρτι principally colours what immediately follows with sad pathos: Protarchos died when he was still following the pursuits of a young man in the gymnasium, cf. *GVI* 48.3 (first-century BC Amorgos) ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκ χλαμύδος νεοπενθὴς ὤιχετ' ἐς Ἄιδα, 771.3 (early imperial Smyrna) ἄρτι γὰρ εὐμόχθου ἐπὶ γυμνάδος κτλ., *AP* 7.12.1–2 (an epitaph for Erinna) ἄρτι λοχευομένην σε μελισσοτόκων ἔαρ ὕμνων, / ἄρτι δὲ κυκνείωι φθεγγομένην στόματι κτλ., Jones 2020: XVII V.1 (late Hellenistic Mylasa) ἄρτι σε νυμφιδίους θαλάμους ἀλόχοιο λιπόντα κτλ. **γυμνάδος:** γυμνάς is a late usage for γυμνάσιον, cf. *GVI* 48.2 γυμνάδος ἐν τεμένει, LSJ III.

2 [187] Cf. Mimnermus 1.4 ἥβης ἄνθεα … ἁρπαλέα, 2.3–4 ἄνθεσιν ἥβης / τερπόμεθα, Solon 25.1 ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι, *SEG* 41.1150.3 ἥβης ἄνθος ἔχων γλυκερόν.

3 [188] ἠΐθεον: one of the categories of the dead at *Od.* 11.38.

4 [189] ὀγκωθείς 'built up, raised high', cf. 9.

5 [190] πινυτῶι: if sound, this must refer to the moderate grief appropriate to a 'man of understanding', cf. Quint. Smyrn. 3.8–9, 5.596–7; neither

δεδμημένος nor αἰάξας δ᾽ ἄπληστα seems, however, very appropriate to such moderate grief, and πυκινῶι, an adjective used of grief in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 16.599), may be right.

6 [191] ὠκύμορον μύρετο: see *70–1, 72*nn.

7 [192] αἰάξας δ᾽ ἄπληστα: cf. *GVI* 851.8 (imperial Paros) τίς ἀπλήστου πένθεος ὠφελίη;. The 'unending grieving' preceded the new grief, and is thus expressed by an aorist participle, although the principal verb is also aorist. **παλίνδρομον** 'recurring', i.e. a new wave of grief. The adjective is not otherwise attested in inscriptional verse. **ἔλλαβε:** the doubling of the consonant which turns the augment into a heavy syllable is in imitation of Homeric effects, see West 1982: 15–16.

8 [193] γάρ immediately following the central caesura of the verse is an unclassical feature, cf. *589*. **στενάχησε λίην:** a rather abrupt description of the 'new grief'. λίην presumably means 'very much', rather than 'too much'; the aorist places the wife's death at some time in the past, even if more recent than the deaths of the younger members of the family. Attempts to emend away the apparent oddity by introducing the name of the dead wife have been made: στενάχησε Δίην (Wilhelm), στενάχησ᾽ Ἑλίκην (Gomperz).

9–10 [194–5] ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν 'arising from you', with ἐλπίδας. **γηροτρόφους ἐλπίδας:** cf. Pind. fr. 214 M γλυκεῖά οἱ καρδίαν / ἀτάλλοισα γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ / Ἐλπίς, cited and discussed by Pl. *Rep.* 1.331a (and thereafter a very familiar quotation in the philosophical tradition), to describe the hopes for the afterlife of the man who is conscious of having lived a just and pious life; here the phrase refers rather to the potential 'carers in old age' of whom the elder Protarchos has been robbed. **ὠρφάνισεν** 'robbed (him) of'; pathos attends the fact that the word-group is normally used of children left behind by the dead, not of the old left behind by younger deaths.

XXXI *SGO* 03/05/02 = *GVI* 764

A poem of probably the first century BC for Gorgos, who was buried in Athens, but who had held some official position at the famous oracle of Apollo at Klaros in Ionia (Parke 1985: 112–70), near where the stone was found at Notion, the port of Kolophon. The poem celebrates Gorgos as a man of great learning who had himself composed literary works of some kind (see 1–2n.).

The epigram has a number of elements in common with a poem (*AP* 7.594) of Julian 'the Egyptian' (sixth century AD) on the death of a γραμματικός who, like Gorgos, concerned himself with the poetry of the past:

μνῆμα σόν, ὦ Θεόδωρε, πανατρεκὲς οὐκ ἐπὶ τύμβωι,
  ἀλλ᾽ ἐνὶ βιβλιακῶν μυριάσιν σελίδων,
αἷσιν ἀνεζώγρησας ἀπολλυμένων ἀπὸ λήθης
  ἁρπάξας νοερῶν μόχθον ἀοιδοπόλων.

Your truest memorial, Theodorus, is not on your tomb but in the countless pages of your books, in which you brought back to life and snatched from oblivion the labour of thoughtful poets who were being lost.

It is possible that both poems are indebted to an earlier Hellenistic predecessor.

Bibl. Mutschmann 1917/18, Fogazza 1971, Cazzaniga 1974, Parke 1985: 131–2, Ceccarelli 2016.

1–2 [196–7] 'The man of many books, learned in every area of research, the old man who plucked the pages of the poets …'. This is a tentative translation of verses which have been understood in various ways; it seems, however, very difficult to take πολύβυβλον with σελίδα or πρέσβυν ἀοιδοπόλων together as 'most honoured of poets'. For the style of the honorific inscription cf. *SGO* 08/05/08.1–2 (the schoolteacher Magnus) τὸν μέγαν ἐν Μούσαισι, τὸν ἐν σοφίηι κλυτὸν ἄνδρα / ἔξοχα Ὁμηρείων ἁψάμενον σελίδων κτλ. **πολύβυβλον:** whether Gorgos owned, used or wrote many books (or indeed some combination of these) cannot be determined; the book is here used as a signifier of learning. Posidippus describes his soul as once ἐν βύβλοις πεπονημένη (*AP* 12.98.3 = *HE* 3076); *SGO* 05/01/26 (Smyrna, first century AD) celebrates a doctor who wrote as many books (77) as the years of his life. **πάσης … ἀφ᾽ ἱστορίης μελεδωνόν:** cf. Hermesianax fr. 7.22 Powell (= fr. 3.22 Lightfoot) Ἡσίοδον πάσης ἤρανον ἱστορίης, *SEG* 39.972 (Hellenistic Crete) σοφιστὴν … εὐμαθοῦς κοίρανον ἱστορίης. The basic sense of μελεδωνός is 'carer, guardian', but here it seems to suggest the learnedness which Gorgo has attained as a result of his 'care', cf. perhaps μελεδωνεύς of Linos, Heracles' teacher, at Theocr. 24.106. **ἀοιδοπόλων δρεψάμενον σελίδα:** the actual nature of Gorgos' literary activity is unclear. δρεψάμενον perhaps suggests the activity of an anthologist rather than of a poet, but cf. Ar. *Frogs* 1300, Pl. *Ion* 534b2, Dionysius, *AP* 7.716.3 (= *HE* 1449) on a deceased poet δρεψάμεμος σοφίην ὀλίγον χρόνον. The verb has a loose field of application in such expressions: *EG* 853 (Athens, second century BC) celebrates a doctor who knew the σοφὰ δόγματα of the doctors, but also τὸ περισσὸν / ἐκ βύβλων ψυχῆς ὄμματι δρεψάμενον, XXXVI a slave who γραμματικῆς τ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἄνθεα δρεψάμενον, and Nossis, *AP* 7.414.3–4 (= *HE* 2329–30) has Rhinthon claim φλύακων / ἐκ τραγικῶν ἴδιον κισσὸν ἐδρεψάμεθα. Gorgos may have excerpted passages

from poets (so Wilamowitz 1924a: I 106 n.3) or written about their lives (cf. the elegiac catalogue of Hermesianax of Colophon) or written prose versions of poetic myths (so Mutschmann 1917/18) or some combination of these possibilities. Cazzaniga 1974 argues that the work will have been closely tied to the history of the shrine at Klaros. **ἀοιδοπόλων:** this and Archias, *AP* 9.343.5 (= *GP* 3738) are probably the earliest extant occurrences of the term. **σελίδα:** see *151*n. The singular is found with reference to a single poem or poet (e.g. *AP* 7.138.4, 9.184.5 (= *FGE* 1198)), but it is tempting to emend here to σελίδας; single letters are missing in two other places in the poem. Cazzaniga 1974: 148 noted, but did not adopt, the possibility of σελίδας.

3 [198] τὸν σοφίην στέρξαντα νόωι: not merely a periphrasis for φιλόσοφον; Gorgos 'cherished' wisdom. **μεγαλόφρονα:** see *14*n. **Γόργον:** a well-attested name throughout the Aegean.

4 [199] Gorgos' precise role at Klaros cannot be determined from this description; little can be inferred from θέραπα (see next n.). Oracles at Klaros were delivered in verse (Tac. *Ann.* 2.54), and Gow–Scholfield 1953: 5 n.6 suggest that Gorgos may have played a part in poetical production at the shrine. It is certainly tempting to associate this verse with Nicander, *Alex.* 11, where the poet of Colophon describes himself as ἑζόμενος (u.l. -μενοι) τριπόδεσσι πάρα Κλαρίοις Ἑκάτοιο; from that verse it was inferred in antiquity that Nicander served as a priest of Apollo at the shrine. Whether that is so or not, Nicander – whatever his date – was almost certainly earlier than the poem for Gorgos, and the poet of the epigram may thus have echoed (and varied) a verse of Nicander's self-presentation, as a way of honouring two great literary figures of the local area. Gorgos himself might have written about Nicander. **θέραπα:** θέραψ is a poetic form for θεράπων. It is unlikely that Gorgos' role was a menial one (contrast Eur. *Ion* 94); at Pind. *Ol.* 3.16 the δᾶμος of the Hyperboreans is called Ἀπόλ-/ λωνος θεράποντα.

5 [200] Striking κ-alliteration is here intended as a marker of high poetic style. Gorgos was buried at Athens, but he (or his soul) has passed to the resting-place of the pious, cf. *154–5*, *710–12*nn. **Κεκροπὶς ... κόνις:** Athens was commonly identified through its legendary king, Kekrops, cf. e.g. Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.81.5 (= *HE* 422) Σόλωνα δὲ Κεκροπὶς αἶα.

XXXII Bernand 4 = *GVI* 1149

A late Hellenistic poem for an officer and his son, killed in the same military engagement; the stone was found at Koptos in the Thebaid in Upper

Egypt. The writing does not permit a dating more specific than to the second or earlier first century BC. There was a serious revolt against centralised authority in the Thebaid in c. 88 (see Bevan 1927: 335–41), but many other opportunities for death in battle would have presented themselves during the second century (see e.g. Hölbl 2001: 307). The epitaph is very non-specific about historical circumstances (see further 5–6n.). Hellenistic epigrams for those killed in battle often give much more information about the dead than do corresponding classical epitaphs, which tend to limit themselves to information about the fatal encounter, see Breuer 1995: 54.

The poem shows a mix of Doric, Homeric and *koinē* forms typical of the epitaphic poetry of Hellenistic Egypt; the closest analogues are the poems of Herodes (Bernand 5, 6, 35).

Bibl. Wilhelm 1946: 38–46 (*editio princeps*).

1 [202] ἁγεμόνα 'officer'; the title refers to those who commanded military units and is a high position, ranking well above that of σημειοφόρος which was held by Ptolemaios' son (4), see Zucker 1938: 28–32, Launey 1987: I 557–9.

2 [203] ἀνὰ κρατερὴν φυλόπιδα, 'in terrible battle', evokes Homeric fighting; φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς begins a hexameter at *Il.* 18.242 and *Od.* 16.268. Ar. *Peace* 1076 shows that φύλοπις was treated from an early date as an arcane Homeric gloss; the Homeric verse-ending φύλοπις αἰνή is used in an epitaph of the third century AD from Cyrenaica (*SEG* 9.363).

3 [204] Μηνοόδωρον: an artificial form to allow Μηνόδωρος (a very common name) to appear in a hexameter. Such metrical ruses are very common in inscribed epigrams, see *238*n., Wilhelm 1946: 40–3, Petrovic 2016: 366–7, Lougovaya 2019: 145–9; in two poems from the Black Sea coast the name appears as Μηνεόδωρος (*GVI* 710.3, 1869.4). Critias fr. 4 replaces a pentameter by an iambic trimeter because of the three successive short syllables in Ἀλκιβιάδης and comments ironically on the procedure, see Kassel 1991: 131–7. Another solution to metrically intractable names was to inscribe them on the tombstone separately from any verse inscription, see XXII, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 295–6. **πτολέμοισιν:** the Homeric form continues the martial spirit of 2. **ἀταρβῆ:** the only Homeric instance of ἀταρβής is *Il.* 13.299 of Φόβος, the son of Ares, κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβής; Menodoros is thus depicted as a remarkable fighter.

4 [205] αἰχμητήν: another Homeric term. **σημοφόρωι κάμακι** 'with his standard-bearing spear', i.e. Menodoros served as a σημειοφόρος or 'lieutenant', see also 1n.

5–6 [206–7] Lit. 'when against the enemy together with Macedonian soldiery which commanding at that time I led furious Ares'. The syntax is incomplete as we expect a finite verb rather than the participle ἁγεμονῶν; Wilhelm suggested reading ἁγεμόνων as a Doric imperfect of ἁγεμονέω, but that form is very insecure, and emendation to ἁγεμόνευν would seem a better solution. On balance, however, the easy anacoluthon should probably be retained. **δυσμενέεσσι:** a Homeric term in a Homeric verse-position; three verses in *Il.* begin ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι. **Μακηδόνι:** a metrically convenient alternative for the much more common Μακεδών. It is unclear whether the term simply refers to those serving in the Ptolemaic army, whose traditions and armour were traced back to Macedonia, or to men who actually claimed Macedonian ancestry, see Edson 1958: 169, Launey 1987: II 1097. **στρατιώτηι:** a very rare collective use of the singular, cf. Thucyd. 6.24.3 (where, however, interpretation is disputed). **τοῖο:** Homeric form of the genitive of the relative pronoun. **θούριον ... Ἄρη:** θοῦρον Ἄρηα is an Iliadic formula, see *11*n.; θούριος is a later form first attested in tragedy. The metonymic use of Ἄρης for 'war' or 'an army' occurs already in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 2.381; cf. *40*, *GVI* 943.3 πεζὸν ... Ἄρη.

7 [208] 'Having in the front ranks killed the enemy in vast numbers' (lit. 'hostile ... numberless hordes'). **δήϊα**, rather than δάϊα, is perhaps used for its Homeric flavour. **ἐν προμάχοισι:** a standard Iliadic phrase, see *82*n. **ἄσπετα φῦλα:** we may suspect some exaggeration in the numbers of the enemy whom father and son killed. **κανόντας:** aorist participle of καίνω, a very rare and poetic verb, cf. *GVI* 1700.9 (another poem full of Homeric echoes); prose uses κατακαίνω.

8 [209] ἐληΐσατο 'plundered, carried off'; Hades too acts like a ravaging army. The poet might have had in mind the verse 'Hades carries off (ληΐζεται) none of the wicked', a version of Soph. fr. 724.4 found in Schol. *Il.* 2.833. The more common verb is ἁρπάζειν, cf. *681*n.

9 [210] κλεινὰ ... θρεπτήρια: lit. 'payment for upbringing which will bring *kleos*'. The idea that one should repay the upbringing provided by one's home city is most fully expressed in Plato's *Crito*, and cf. *SGO* 02/09/16, 01/20/19, Robert 1948: 132–4. **ὑπὲρ πάτρας:** see *80–1*n. **θάνομεν:** the unaugmented aorist of the uncompounded verb is markedly poetic.

10 [211] γυμνασίαρχος: the gymnasiarch, who had nominal responsibility for the funding and running of gymnasia, held one of the highest ranking offices (ἀρχαί) of Egyptian cities, and one presumably held only by members of elite families, see Jouguet 1911: 292–5, 318–24, Oertel 1917:

316–25. **καὶ τὸ πάρος:** the implication is that Ptolemaios had repaid some of his debt to his city even before his signal service in the battle in which he died. **γενόμαν:** another unaugmented poetic form.

11–12 [212–13] Ptolemaios embodied the double ideal famously prescribed in Phoenix's education of Achilles, μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων (*Il.* 9.443), a much quoted verse in antiquity. For this ideal in inscribed verse cf. e.g. Bernand 35.8 ὁ καὶ βουλᾶι καὶ δορὶ θαρσαλέος, *EG* 854.3–4 ἐν βουλαῖς μὲν ἄριστον, ἀγῶσι δὲ τοῖς περὶ πάτρας / ἄλκιμον. **πρυλέεσσιν** 'soldiers fighting on foot' (see Schol. *Il.* 5.744), an Iliadic gloss often understood as synonymous with πρόμαχοι, cf. *LfgrE* πρυλέες. **ἀρήϊος:** an Ionic form which is very common in *Il.* **ἔνθα δὲ βουλᾶς / χρῆμα** 'where it was a matter of counsel'; χρῆμα here comes very close to χρεία, 'where there was need for counsel'. **τὸν ἐκ πραπίδων αἶνον ἐνεγκάμενος** 'contributing advice from the wisdom of my heart'. πραπίδες, 'heart, mind', regularly suggests wisdom and good sense, cf. *143, 414*n. αἶνος, which can be used just of 'utterance' in Homer, seems here very close in sense to παραίνεσις, 'advice', a connection which is both natural and may have been influenced by αἶνος used of 'paraenetic' fables, cf. *LfgrE*, Eustathius, *Hom.* 1768.59–60, 1769.3, Nagy 1979: 237–8.

13 [214] The assumed reader or 'passer-by' now addresses Ptolemaios. **καρτερέ:** an appropriately Homeric adjective.

14 [215] Ptolemaios now speaks again and instructs the passer-by to extend his greetings to Menodoros. Peek's reconstruction of the head of the verse is attractive, though not certain. On any reconstruction υἱόν for υἱός seems inevitable.

XXXIII *CII* 84 = *SEG* 54.1568

An acrostic poem from the area of Alexandria Arachosia (modern Kandahar in Afghanistan); it was first published in 2004. On the stone the poem is headed Σωφύτου στήλη, and it was apparently erected by Sophytos, who is commemorated in the acrostic, while he was still alive, presumably at the family tomb which he rebuilt (17); the poem is part epitaph and part encomiastic autobiography. We cannot know whether Sophytos composed the poem himself or whether it was a collaborative effort with a local poet (see 18n.); the style (see below), however, is clearly to be understood as a very distinctive display of learning and παιδεία. Estimates of the date vary from the second century BC to the first AD, with most now favouring the later part of that period; the layout and lettering on the stone clearly imitate the writing and setting out of book texts. Both

Sophytos and his father's name, Naratos or Narates, are Hellenised forms of Indian names (*Subhēti*, *Nērada*), and Sophytos' pride in his Greek education (5–6) tells us much of the cultural ambitions of a local elite.

Playful acrostics are an occasional feature of learned book poetry from the Hellenistic period on, and name-acrostics are not uncommon in epitaphs of the imperial period (see Garulli 2013, and, more generally, Kronenberg 2018). That this acrostic, 'through the action of Sophytos, son of Naratos', is separately displayed on the stone so that it cannot be missed is, however, very unusual, and is presumably a mark of Sophytos' pride in what he has achieved and in the poem which honours him.

Even more striking than Sophytos' self-fashioning as an Odysseus (11n.) is the mannered verbal style of the poem, which is characterised both by some extremely choice and rare vocabulary (e.g. κοκυῶν, τυννός, φυρτός, ἀλωβήτως, πέλων) and a persistently novel use of more familiar elements. The style, like the acrostic, is a highly self-conscious redeployment of the Greek poetic heritage from Homer to high Hellenistic poetry; unfortunately, we cannot know how many potential readers in Arachosia will have appreciated its strange artistry.

Bibl. Bernard–Pinault–Rougemont 2004, Bernard 2005, Hollis 2011: 112–17, Garulli 2012: 279–87, 2014: 132–7, Mairs 2013, Lougovaya 2016, Hunter 2018: 22–4.

1 [216] δηρόν: a Homeric and poetic adverb, 'for a very long time', modifying ἐριθηλέα. **κοκυῶν** 'ancestors', an extremely rare word, probably of non-Greek origin, cf. Call. fr. 340 (= *Hecale* 137 Hollis, with Hollis's n.), Zonas, *AP* 9.312.5 (= *GP* 3484); κ]οκύαι has been suggested in an extremely fragmentary poem from Hellenistic Smyrna (*SEG* 41.1000). **ἐριθηλέα** 'flourishing greatly'; this poetic adjective (three occurrences in *Il.*) is almost always used of plants, and its application to δώματα is a striking novelty; *Orac. Sib.* 5.400 has οἶκον ἀεὶ θάλλοντα.

2 [217] ἴς 'strength, force' (Lat. *uis*), not otherwise attested for the Moirai. **ἄμαχος** 'irresistible'. **Μοιρῶν ... τριάδος** 'of the triad of the Moirai' (Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos); the expression is not found elsewhere. **ἐξόλεσεν:** unaugmented aorist, cf. *Od.* 17.597.

3 [218] αὐτὰρ ἐγώ: a very common Homeric phrase, most often at verse-beginning, which was taken over by the subsequent tradition and often deployed as a marker of the poet's assertive self-consciousness. **τυννὸς κομιδῆι** 'really quite small'. τυννός is another very rare term first attested in Hellenistic poetry (Call. fr. 471, Theocr. 24.139, *GVI* 1237.2 (Thrace, first century AD), Hollis 2004). The stone is worn at this point, but κομιδῆι

seems more likely than κομιδῆς, 'bereft of supplies and …'. **βιότοιο τε πατρῶν** 'the livelihood built up by my ancestors'. The implication seems to be that he was deprived of this *when* he was small, not just that these are two unrelated aspects of his pitiable condition. πατρῶν is a very rare genitive plural, found twice in *Od.* (4.687, 8.245).

4 [219] Son and father frame the chiastic verse, the father's name included in a patronymic of high Homeric style. **εὖνις** 'deprived of', a Homeric and poetic word. **οἰκτρά:** adverbial neuter plural with εὖνις; the word order is strained here.

5–6 [220–1] 'When I had acquired by practice the excellence of Hekatos [Apollo] and the Muses, mixed together with noble prudence …'. The meaning is that he received an education in Greek poetry (displayed not least in the use of Ἕκατος for Apollo) and perhaps also philosophy, though how advanced that education actually was must remain open; ἀρετήν and σωφροσύνηι ennoble this education with resonances of ethical virtue. The enjambment of φυρτήν binds this couplet together more strongly than some others. **Μουσέων:** scanned as two long syllables with synizesis. **ἤσκηκα:** the perfect of ἀσκέω indicates 'practised and thus acquired'; others understand the inscribed ἤσχηκα to be a perfect of ἔχω for the more usual εἴσχηκα. **φυρτήν** 'mixed together with …', presumably connected with φυράω, but otherwise known only from Hesychius φ1037 φυρτοῖσιν· εἰκαίοις, συμπεφυρμένοις; the poet presumably had read the word somewhere and wanted to use it.

7 [222] πῶς is postponed in a common poetic mannerism. **μέγαρον πατρώϊον** sounds Homeric, but is not; *Od.* 1.276 has μέγαρον πατρός.

8 [223] τεκνοφόρον 'interest bearing', a word otherwise attested (in the sense 'child-bearing') only in a Byzantine Christian poem. τόκος, lit. 'offspring', is the standard word for 'interest' (LSJ II 2); τοκοφορέω occurs at Dem. 59.52, but *τοκοφόρος, which could not be used in dactylic verse, is not attested, though it may well have been in use. τεκνοφόρον is a remarkable adaptation of a rather prosaic idea. The implication seems to be that Sophytos initially financed his travels with a loan on which he had to pay interest. **ἄλλοθεν:** Sophytos is coy about the source of the money, but that is apparently not important to the story he has to tell.

9 [224] There is a breach of Naeke's Law (*88–9*n.), mitigated by prepositive οὐ. **μεμαώς** 'intending, minded to' (LSJ μέμονα 2), but the participle in Homer suggests a very powerful, often martial, desire: Sophytos' plan is heroic.

10 [225] ὕψιστον ... ἀγαθῶν ἄφενος might seem to sit strangely after the apparent praise of ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη, but Sophytos has the instincts of a merchant. **ἄφενος:** a poetic word for wealth, here neuter, though also found as masculine (West on Hes. *Theog.* 112–13). It has been suggested that the juxtaposition of ἄφενος and ἐπ᾽ ἐμπορίῃσιν evokes the story of Hesiod's father's flight οὐκ ἄφενος φεύγων (*WD* 637) and Hesiod's subsequent advice to ἔμποροι (*WD* 645–62), but the links are not strong.

11 [226] Sophytos presents himself as an Odysseus, cf. *Od.* 1.3, *GVI* 627.2 (imperial Thasos) a travelling doctor ὃς πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶδον ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνων, *406*–7n., Bernard–Pinault–Rougemont 2004: 240–1. Sophytos' travels, during which he acquired great wealth, sound in fact more like one of Odysseus' 'realistic' false tales than the fantastical adventures of *Od.* 9–12.

12 [227] ὄλβον ... εὐρύν: another phrase which is very hard to parallel. **ἀλωβήτως:** probably 'without harming anyone', i.e. without committing λώβη, another unexpected and novel usage. Others understand 'safe and sound', i.e. Sophytos himself suffered no harm, but, though more expected than the active sense would be, this seems less pointed and encomiastic. This is the earliest attestation for the adverb, which was to become common later, see Lampe s.v. **ἐληϊσάμην** probably means 'I acquired', without the verb's usual resonances of plunder, cf. Hes. *WD* 322.

13–14 [228–9] ὑμνητός otherwise occurs only at Pind. *Pyth.* 10.22, 11.61 and in the Septuagint and imperial prose. Sophytos probably does not mean that he literally became the subject of song. **πέλων** 'becoming, being', an extremely rare participle of active form, cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 896, Theocr. 30.14 (where it is plausibly restored). **ἐτέεσσιν ... / νηρίθμοις** must mean 'after countless years', but the dative is very hard to parallel, cf. Theocr. 25.56 ἤμασι πολλοῖς with Gow's n., a passage (about wealth) which also offers (25.57) one of the very few attestations of the Hellenistic poetic adjective νήριθμος (cf. also Lyc. *Alex.* 415). There may be some memory of that passage here. **ἐσῖγμαι:** the only attested occurrence of the perfect of the very rare compound εἰσικνέομαι (Hermesianax fr. 7.23 Powell). **τερπνός τ᾽ εὐμενέταις:** perhaps an echo of the only occurrence of the noun in Homer, *Od.* 6.185 (Odysseus to Nausicaa on the joys of marriage) χάρματα δ᾽ εὐμενέτῃσι; the noun does not recur before Oppian, *Hal.* 5.45.

15–17 [230–2] ἀμφοτέρους anticipates οἶκον which immediately follows and τύμβον, to be understood with ἄλλον in 17. The sentence is also articulated by τε ... τε, but the genitive absolute in 17 obscures the second reference of ἀμφοτέρους. **σεσηπότα** 'rotted away', a perfect participle of

σήπω, see LSJ II. The word would more naturally be used of wood than of a house, presumably made of stone, and here functions as a choice variant for σαπρόν, cf. Teles 27.4 Hense σαπρὸν ... καὶ ῥέουσα καὶ καταπίπτουσα of a building, Arrian, *Epictetus* 2.15.9. **εἶθαρ** 'immediately', a Homeric term picked up in Hellenistic poetry. **ἐκ καινῆς** 'anew, afresh'. **αἶάν τ' ἔς:** poetic anastrophe of the preposition, which is then accented, see *80–1*n.

18 [233] The verse is metrically imperfect (an intrusive ⏑⏑ follows the central caesura), and the hiatus in ὁδῶι ἐπέθηκα is also out of keeping with the rest of the poem. The verse is easy enough to heal – τὴν καὶ ζῶν στήλην ὧδ' ἐπέθηκα λάλον (Tammaro), τήν τ' ἐν ὁδῶι στήλην ζῶν ἐπέθηκα λάλον (Hollis), other suggestions in Garulli 2012: 280 – but the corruption is very hard to explain in an otherwise exemplary inscription. Some have therefore concluded that, though faulty, this is indeed what Sophytos wished to have inscribed, perhaps 'a result of a last-minute modification' (Bernard 2005); Lougovaya 2016 argues that this faulty verse was in fact Sophytos' sole contribution to the composition. καὶ ζῶν has perhaps a rather different feel from the rest of the poem. **καὶ ζῶν:** that a funerary monument or inscription is the work of someone 'still living' is a common idea, but here the dead man himself claims responsibility for the inscription, cf. e.g. *GVI* 1256.3 (Hellenistic Rhodes) ὅς καὶ ζῶν ἔτι τόνδε τάφον ποίησεν ἑαυτῶι, *SGO* 19/17/02.3–4 (imperial Cilicia) τάδ' ἔγραφον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῶι / ζῶν δ' ἐν στήληι ἐχάραξα τύπους; in the latter case, metrical fault also enters the poem with the deceased's declaration of authorship (see Lougovaya 2019: 155–6). **ἐν ὁδῶι:** see *436–7*n. **λάλον:** see *60–1*, *153*nn. The principal meaning here seems to be 'informative', but there is a certain wit in λάλος applied to a stone which really is 'chatty' by epitaphic standards.

20 [235] Cf. the closing wish of Posidippus' 'Seal', *SH* 705.25 ('may I die') λείπων τέκνοις δῶμα καὶ ὄλβον ἐμόν. **υἱέες υἱωνοί τε** forms the first half of *Il.* 2.666; the formula with singular nouns occurs at *Il.* 5.631, *Od.* 24.515. For another inscriptional echo, in a very similar context, cf. Isidorus, *Hymn* 3.11 (quoted in 577n.). **οἶκον ... ἐμοῦ** closes a ring around the poem by pointedly varying ἐμῶν κοκυῶν ἐριθηλέα δώματα in 1: this house is now Sophytos' for ever.

XXXIV *SGO* 02/14/11 = *IK* 49.81 = *GVI* 1804

A poem from Carian Laodikeia for Epigonos, son of Andreas; the date is probably first century BC or AD. The predominant, though not universal (μνημεῖον 1 ~ μνᾶμα 9), dialectal colouring is Doric, which here works together with a challenge to the traditional supremacy of Homer and

received myth, to create a powerful case for the virtue (2) of the deceased. It is unclear whether we have the whole poem. Line 10 would make a pointed conclusion and there is a clear gap after that verse, but there are also traces of letters on the stone below the final verse.

Bibl. Hunter 2018: 8–10.

1 [236] [ἐσαθρεῖς] is an attractive supplement; a verb meaning 'look at' is certainly expected, cf. e.g. *GVI* 813.1 ἐσορᾶις με νέκυν, παροδεῖτα.

2 [237] Cf. Simonides, *PMG* 531 = fr. 261 Poltera (the dead at Thermopylae) οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, and particularly Soph. *Ajax* 714 (lyric) πάνθ' ὁ μέγας χρόνος μαραίνει; such language became almost proverbial, cf. *EG* 854.2 (Hellenistic Delos) ὁ μυριέτης δ' οὐ μαρανεῖ σε χρόνος, Hor. *c.* 3.30.1–5, Dion. Hal. *AR* 2.3.8, Julian, *AP* 6.19.1–2, Nonnus, *Dion.* 24.205, and deliberate echo of Sophocles is not always to be assumed in these later passages. The Carian poet does, however, here inscribe Epigonos, named three times, within a long poetic tradition, a tradition which itself bears witness to time's inability to erase the memory of virtue. Whereas material structures such as tombs may crumble away, the virtue of the dead and our memory of them are never erased; whatever happens to Epigonos' physical memorial (μνημεῖον), the 'memorial/remembrance' (μνᾶμα, 9) which he offers to those left behind will always remain. Diod. Sic. 10.12.2 (= 10 fr. 27 Cohen-Skalli), perhaps roughly contemporary with this poem, theorises the matter in very similar language: 'It is a good thing for later generations to understand that whatever life a man chooses to live, this is the memory (μνήμη) of which he will be deemed worthy after death, so that they will not be concerned with the building of stone memorials (μνημεῖα), which occupy a single position and quickly decay, but with reason and all the virtues which report (φήμη) carries everywhere. Time, which withers everything else, preserves these virtues as immortal (ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὁ πάντα μαραίνων τἄλλα ταύτας ἀθανάτους φυλάττει).' These epitaphic topoi are given a new twist by Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.713 (= *HE* 560–7) who contrasts the eternal μνήμη of Erinna's *Distaff*, which is not concealed 'by the dusky wing of black night' (cf. *103*n.), with 'we countless thousands of later poets who wither away (μαραινόμεθα) forgotten'.

3 [238] Ἐπιγόνου: as also in 7 and 9, the first syllable is counted as long; Ἐπίγονος can only be fitted into hexameters by such a device or by obscuring the name through, e.g., prodelision ('πίγονος). Arist. *Poet.* 1458b9 cites a parody of Homer in which the first syllable of the name Ἐπιχάρης is lengthened (Eucleides fr. 1), but examples of such stratagems

are common in inscriptions (see *204*n.), and here the device gives (if anything) greater prominence to the name of the honorand. Epigonos is a very common name, see further 5n. **πρωτεῖα ... λιπόντος:** lit. 'who left first place among the living', i.e. who left behind a reputation for having occupied first place.

4 [239] σωφροσύνας μορφᾶς θ': the two virtues which will be illustrated, in chiastic order, by Achilles and Hippolytos. Achilles was the handsomest Greek hero at Troy (*Il.* 2.674), though it is his martial prowess which will be to the fore in the following verse.

5 [240] The second half of the verse is occupied by three 'Homeric' proper names, and Πριάμου παῖδ' Ἕκτορ(α) evokes the common Homeric Ἕκτορα Πριαμίδην and similar phrases. Behind Epigonos' challenge to the greatest Homeric hero perhaps plays a memory of the cyclic epic Ἐπίγονοι, the authorship of which was disputed from an early date (see Hdt. 4.32), but which certainly formed part of the only great epic cycle other than the Trojan, namely the story of Thebes, cf. Hes. *WD* 162–5 (with West's n. on 162), Cingano 2015.

6 [241] Hippolytos is a supreme example of one kind of σωφροσύνη (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 80); the meaning of the term is an important theme of Eur.'s play (see esp. 731). For the rhetoric of this poem, we do not have to assume that Epigonos' σωφροσύνη, a standard virtue in praise of the dead, was of the same kind as Hippolytos'; the Euripidean character is in fact a paradigm of both Epigonos' virtues: the *hypothesis* to Eur. *Hipp.* calls him κάλλει τε καὶ σωφροσύνηι διαφέροντα.

7 [242] οὐκ ἐγένονθ': the emphatic accumulation of negatives is of a standard type, see Smyth §2760–2. **Ἐπίγονος:** see 3n.

8 [243] Ἀνδρέου: a very common name. **εὐγενέτα:** Doric genitive. On such praise see *488–9*n. **πατρός:** the first syllable is long, whereas in the previous pentameter (6) it was not lengthened by the following -τρ, see West 1982: 16–17. **ἴσου βασιλεῖ** adapts to verse the adjective ἰσοβασιλεύς, a word of imperial and Byzantine prose, cf. Plut. *Alex.* 39.5 (supposedly written by Olympias), Dorotheos, *Astrol.* 2.27 (p. 359.26 Pingree). Such praise may be thought of as a 'human' equivalent of ἰσόθεος; Andreas is characterised as Homeric heroes were, through formulaic epithets and brief comparisons.

9 [244] Ἐπίγονος: see 3n. **μνᾶμα ζωιοῖς δια[μίμνει]**, 'remains as a memorial for the living', picks up the assertion of 2; whatever happens

to his physical μνημεῖον, Epigonos will never be forgotten, see 2n. and the claim in 3. If the restoration is correct, this would be only the second attested occurrence of διαμίμνειν (cf. Theophr., *De sensu* 55 Wimmer), but δια[σώζει] (or δια[τηρεῖ]), 'preserves a memorial for the living', seems to give a less pointed contrast with the fate of physical memorials.

10 [245] The idea that 'not even Achilles' escaped death is a familiar consolation, cf. *GVI* 1197.11–13, 1695.8, 1935.23–4, 1937, Wankel 1983. In some cases there will be a pointed evocation of Achilles' own use of a paradigm of consolation at *Il.* 18.117, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα. If the poem is complete, the implication here may be that Epigonos remains 'among the living' in human memory, whereas Achilles, the greatest hero of the past, died; this would continue the apparent challenge to Homer set up in the earlier part of the poem. Achilles, however, plainly also 'lives on' in human memory, most clearly through the poetry of Homer, and if 9–10 are pointing up a contrast, rather than a similarity, between Epigonos and Achilles, then the poet is here pushing very hard at the limits of encomium. The familiar consolation with οὐδέ sits somewhat awkwardly with the following δέ which responds to μέν in 9; the cases of οὐδὲ … δέ at *GP*[2] 203 are different in kind.

The text of the second half of the pentameter is damaged beyond certain restoration. Peek's μοῖρ[αν ὁ π]αῖ<ς> is the best suggestion as far as style goes, but the supplement may be too long for the gap on the stone; Wilhelm accordingly proposed μοῖραν παῖ<ς>, but a spondee in the second half of the verse seems most unlikely. Merkelbach suggested μοῖραν ἀ<ε>ί. **Ἀχιλεύς:** the stonecutter has reproduced (cf. 5) the more familiar, but here unmetrical, form. In Homer the nominative with -λλ-, usually placed at verse-end (as 5 here), is much the more common form.

XXXV *SEG* 53.1805

A poem from Byblos in Syria, of the late Hellenistic period or the early empire. A man who prepared corpses for burial claims (perhaps with regret) that he did not prepare himself, as he did not know the appointed time of his death; the dead man may perhaps have arranged (or written) this poem before his death. A similar conceit informs Antiphilus, *AP* 7.634 (= *GP* 895–900): an undertaker dies while lifting a funeral bier, which was to prove to be his own.

1 [246] στολίσαντα 'dressed, prepared', cf. Meleager, *AP* 7.468.1–2 (= *HE* 4690–1) … μάτηρ σε … ὀκτωκαιδεκέταν ἐστόλισ᾽ ἐν χλαμύδι; the standard verb for such preparation of corpses is περιστέλλειν. The dressing

of the corpse, often in white, was a standard part of funerary ritual, cf. Pausanias 4.13.3, Artemid. 2.3, Sokolowski 1969: no. 97A.2–3, Garland 2001: 23–6. **νεκρούς, Ἀβάσκαντον:** a fifth-foot cretic, in place of a dactyl, accommodates the dead man's name, cf. *420*.

2 [247] ΤΗΝΔ seems certainly corrupt or misreported; τῆιδ, 'here', would be very close to what is reported on the stone, and τῶιδ', 'this', with τάφωι, is also worth considering. The original editor suggested τήνδ', sc. ὁδόν, 'in this way', i.e. 'badly', as opposed to καλῶς in 1.

4 [249] οὗτος with the first person presumably means 'I, who am in front of you', but the usage is very hard to parallel; αὐτός would be expected, 'I myself'.

XXXVI *SEG* 59.1318

An early imperial, perhaps Augustan, epitaph from Ephesos for a slave who has been thought to have been a teacher in an elite family; Hyllos appears, however, to have died young (cf. 6, 11–12, 15–16nn.). The poem is marked by a mixture of prosaic vocabulary and novel poetic turns of phrase, as well as a striking awkwardness of expression which in places leaves the meaning not entirely clear. The acknowledgement of the element of chance in slavery in 3–4 is noteworthy: the two forces which govern our lives, Chance and Necessity, weep for Hyllos' lot.

Bibl. Büyükkolancı–Gronewald–Engelmann 2009 (*editio princeps*, with photo).

1 [250] Neither δυσοιώνιστον nor ἀλλοπρόσαλλον appears elsewhere in an inscription. **δυσοιώνιστον:** 'Hyllos' is probably an ill-omened name because of the story dramatised in Soph. *Trach.*: Heracles' son of that name witnessed his mother's unwitting killing of his father and was then forced to light the pyre which consumed Heracles and to marry Iole, who had been the cause of his mother's fatal mistake; for Hyllos' protestations at his fate cf. e.g. *Trach.* 1207, 1230–7. Epitaphs not uncommonly call attention to the significance of names, cf. *GVI* 1109.3–4 (imperial Athens) οὔνομα δ' Εὐτυχίδης· ψευδώνυμον ἀλλά με δαίμων / θῆκεν, ἀφαρπάξας ὠκύτατ' εἰς Ἀΐδα, *SGO* 03/07/16 Φωτινός, 'Mr Light', who no longer sees it, Chaniotis 2004: 42–3, Ypsilanti 2018: 164–5. **ἀλλοπρόσαλλον:** in Homer an epithet of Ares (*Il.* 5.831, 889), understood in antiquity as 'changeable, fickle'. The meaning here is uncertain, perhaps 'borrowed, taken from elsewhere'. The first editors suggested ἀλλοπροσάλλων, to be taken with Μοιρέων.

2 [251] Μοιρέων (see *217*n.) is scanned as two long syllables with synizesis.

3 [252] ἀφόρητος 'unendurable', a very common term in Hellenistic prose, but surprisingly rare in verse (Men. *Monstich.* 492 Jaekel). Necessity here is a force which rules our lives, not just the necessity which makes death inevitable (e.g. *GVI* 1039.7, 1656, 1889.3–4).

4 [253] ἐπέκλωσεν, 'spun', continues the imagery of νήμασιν (2).

5 [254] Two further objects of θρηνεῖ in asyndeton. **τρόπον ἥμερον** 'civilised/gentle character', cf. Plut. *Theseus* 16.1 ἥμερος τὸν τρόπον, Lucian, *Nigr.* 26 τὸ ἥμερον τοῦ τρόπου.

6 [255] σε from 3 is now understood with the participle; the syntax is somewhat awkward. The verse might just mean that Hyllos was a teacher, but ἀρετῆς, rather than, say, τέχνης, both continues the theme of 5 and moves Hyllos' learning to an ethical plane. **ἄνθεα δρεψάμενον:** see *196–7*n. The phrase need not evoke the activity of the anthologist, but, if he was a teacher, Hyllos very probably was indeed constantly 'plucking flowers' from the literary heritage to mould his pupils. On the other hand, the verse may mean no more than that Hyllos received an ordinary literate education, and this suits the suggestions in 9–12 and 15–16 that he died young.

7 [256] τὰ μέν: strictly speaking, these are the flowers, but the phrase refers to all Hyllos' intellectual and ethical virtues of 5–6, here contrasted with his body. **ἄτακτοι:** the winds are characterised by the lack of the good order which is so central to γραμματική and its practitioners.

8 [257] πυρσός: very rare of the funeral pyre, rather than a torch. **ἀπηνθράκισεν:** a prosaic compound verb associated with cooking and sacrifice, not otherwise found of cremation, but cf. Soph. *El.* 57–8 δέμας / φλογιστὸν ἤδη καὶ κατηνθρακωμένον.

9 [258] εἰς τὸ μάτην: a prosaic and late usage, as is the more common εἰς μάτην; for simple μάτην cf. 15. **ὥστε** here stands for ὡς and follows its noun; the high-style effect differs from much else in the poem. **Μένανδρος:** presumably a member of the family which owned Hyllos; ἔθρεψεν leaves the relationship ambiguous. The text was at first understood to suggest Μενάνδρωι … Δεξιόχειρα, 'Dexiocheira raised you like a brother for Menander …'

10 [259] '… so that he might have a capable fighter for (or 'in') his life', a very unusual expression. **δεξιόχειρα**, lit. 'at the right hand'

(cf. Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 6), is not found elsewhere (the form δεξιόχειρος is a variant at Soph. *Ant.* 140). ἀριστερόχειρ, however, is a term of late prose. **πρόμον:** this Homeric noun was understood as πρόμαχος (e.g. D-scholia on *Il.* 3.44, 7.75); the meaning presumably is that Hyllos' efforts (whether as a friend or, perhaps, as a teacher) would have improved Menander's life.

11–12 [260–1] Hyllos seems to have died before reaching full adult understanding, but the exact sense of the verses is uncertain. **εὐφροσύνης ὅρον** 'limit of delight'. εὐφροσύνη elsewhere is a pursuit and characteristic of the young (e.g. *EG* 490.1, Bernand 68.10, Robert 1946: 117–18), and the implication may be that Hyllos died on the cusp of full adulthood. See further 15–16n. **οὐδέ ... ἔδρακες οὐδ' ἐνόησας:** the two verbs do not seem to carry very different implications. **δ'** is postponed to third position, presumably for metrical reasons.

13 [262] βαρύδαιμον: the adjective is surprisingly rare in epitaphs, cf. *GVI* 1338.3 (third century AD); κακοδαίμων does not seem to occur in epitaphic verse at all. At Eur. *Alc.* 865 Admetus calls himself βαρυδαίμων because he is still alive; the rarity of the adjective makes it improbable that we should see there an ironic reversal of epitaphic language, see Introduction, pp. 31–2.

15–16 [264–5] 'Mortals, why do you cherish in vain the hopes of child-rearing over which you have no control and which are shattered by the treacherous breezes?' **μάτην:** the repetition from 9 emphasises the pointlessness of human striving. **παιδοτρόφον ἐλπίδ':** i.e. hopes that our children will grow up to happy and successful lives. παιδοτρόφος, largely a poetic term, does not otherwise occur in inscriptional verse. **ἄτακτον** is picked up from 7, just as the winds of that verse recur in 16; here the nuance of 'lacking in order' must be 'uncertain, uncontrollable'. **σφαλεροῖς** is here almost synonymous with ἄτακτοι in 7. σφαλερόν, 'risky, shifting', is not a standard description of winds, but it conveys a fundamental truth about human life, cf. Eur. fr. 916 ὦ πολύμοχθος βιοτὴ θνητοῖς, / ὡς ἐπὶ παντὶ σφαλερὰ κεῖσαι κτλ.; that fragment also uses the idea of 'limit', ὅρος, cf. 11. βίε θνητῶν / ἄστατ' in *270–1* conveys a very similar idea. **θρυπτομένην:** a striking verb to use of 'hope'.

XXXVII *SGO* 08/01/51 = *IK* 18.518 = *GVI* 1923

Four stanzas (or poems) from Kyzikos, probably of the first century AD, in honour of the dead Poseidonios; the dead man and his father Menander are also named in superscriptions above the verses. The stanzas are inscribed in two columns on either side of a representation of common type of the dead as a heroic rider; the four stanzas are marked off by blank

spaces, with 1–12 to the left as one faces the stone, and 13–22 to the right. As the dead speaks 7–18, those verses could be read as a single longer stanza (so apparently Cremer 1991: 136), but 13 reads like a fresh beginning and we only realise that the dead is still speaking in the 'third stanza' in 17. Verses 5–6, 12, 18 and 22 are all markedly closural. The standard treatment as four stanzas (or poems), which also reflects the arrangement on the stone, therefore seems correct, but the multiple poems and the change of voice between them are an excellent example of the manner in which inscribed epigrams can play with the relationship between the single 'poem' and the other poems juxtaposed with it on the stone, see Introduction, pp. 27–8.

Every hexameter has a bucolic diaeresis and the dominant linguistic flavour is Homeric-Ionic. The additional iotas in ἥκωι (11), ἄχηι (14) and probably τέφρηι (18) are unexplained.

Bibl. Mordtmann 1879: 14–17, Pfuhl–Möbius *Textband* II no. 1301 (with Taf. 192), Schwertheim 1980: no. 518.

1–2 [266–7] In both verses the grieving mother Moschion is juxtaposed to her dead son (in 1 she literally embraces him). **παιδοκομησαμένη**: outside the lexicographers, this is virtually the only appearance of the verb before Byzantine texts; a word that fills the first two and a half feet offers an impressive opening to the whole composition. The verb may just mean 'caring for when a child', but there is perhaps also a resonance of breast-feeding, cf. 15–16; Nonnus, *Dion.* 5.378, 46.319 uses παιδοκόμος of a mother's breast and womb, and the latter passage is an epitaphic epigram for Pentheus. **Ποσιδώνιον:** the second syllable is short *metri causa*; the name is spelled Ποσειδών- on the superscription above the verses. **ταλαπενθής:** a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 5.222, Odysseus about himself) continues the very impressive opening; after Bacchyl. 5.157 and 16.26, this compound is not found again before this poem. **ἤνδρωσ' εἰς Ἀΐδην** 'brought to manhood – for Hades', a sad expression of purposelessness, as though this was the 'end' in both senses of Moschion's efforts. **Μόσχιον** is much less common generally than the male Μοσχίων, but is well attested in Asia Minor; *LGPN* va lists a further three examples from Cyzicus, one of which (*SGO* 08/01/46, late Hellenistic) is also linked to a male Μένανδρος. **υἷα φίλον:** an epic phrase (cf. *HHAp.* 206); φίλον υἷα appears twice in *Od.*

3 [268] ἐλπίδας: the sad thought is often expressed, cf. *139* τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς γῆν ἐλπίδων κρύψας χαράν, 720.2 Εὔτυχος, ἡ γονέων ἐλπίς, ἔπειτα γόος, Call. *Epigr.* 19 (= *HE* 1249–50, quoted in *139*n.), Peres 2003: 247–55.

4 [269] ὑψηλή 'holding her head high', see LSJ II 2, here in a good sense, though the pejorative 'haughty' is more common. It is children who give a woman status and respect in society. **φρονέουσα μέγα** is almost synonymous with ὑψηλή, cf. *GVI* 2038.25 (late Hellenistic) μάτηρ δ' ἁ μεγάλαυχος ἐφ' υἱάσιν, ἁ πάρος εὔπαις κτλ.

5–6 [270–1] The apostrophe of 'human life' has a markedly closural effect, cf. *264–5*. **ὀλίγη:** a striking and unusual usage, determined by the need for contrast with 4; her son's death has, almost literally, 'shrunk' his mother. **ἄστατ':** this epithet is often applied to τύχη itself. Ovid expresses both of the ideas of this verse at *Ex Pont.* 4.3.31 *haec dea [sc. Fortuna] non stabili, quam sit leuis, orbe fatetur.* **ἐνὶ … κείμενε** 'you who rest upon/are dependent upon …', see LSJ κεῖμαι V 3. **πτηνῆι … Τύχηι:** Τύχη and Fortuna often appear in literature with wings, cf. *PMG* 1019.5, Plut. *Mor.* 318a, Hor. *c.* 3.29.53–4 (with Nisbet–Rudd's n.), Kajanto 1981: 525–32; wings, however, only rarely appear in the icono-graphy of Fortune. **λυπρέ** 'full of grief', see LSJ II 2.

7 [272] The first verse of the new stanza makes clear that the speaker has changed. **λυγρά:** probably 'baleful' (LSJ I 2), rather than 'miserable, wretched', which seems, however, more likely at *GVI* 117.4 (imperial Athens), a six-year-old girl who died λυγρὴν μοῖραν ἐνεγκαμένην. **μήπω με βίου σχεδὸν ἔνδοθι βάντα** 'when I had not yet scarcely entered into life'. μήπω and σχεδόν here reinforce each other, though the ideas might be thought essentially incompatible; μή rather than οὐ perhaps suggests that the sense is concessive, 'though I had …', although 'in Hellenistic epigrams the distinction between μή and οὐ frequently yields to metrical convenience' (Gow–Page on *HE* 493). ἔνδοθι βάντα functions almost like ἐπιβαίνειν, which regularly takes the genitive, in both literal and metaphorical uses (LSJ I 4).

8 [273] ἀπαραιτήτους is largely confined to prose texts. **Ἀΐδαο δόμους:** a standard epic phrase.

9 [274] πικρὰν … πένθει 'bitter with grief'; the word order is artificial and poetic.

10 [275] The mother is so grief-stricken that she cannot properly lament, cf. 17, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.274–5, *GVI* 1265.6 γυμνάσιον κωφοῖς δάκρυσι μυρόμενον. Stones are almost proverbially 'deaf, insensate', unable to share human emotions, and κωφός is often applied also in literary epigrams to the tomb or funeral *stēlē*, cf. *GVI* 1545.3, Gow–Page on *GP* 2002.

11 [276] κουφίζω: an aural quasi-echo of the repeated κωφός from the previous verse introduces the consolation which the dead can indeed offer. **εἰς ὄναρ** 'in a dream/in dreams', a usage common in Byzantine and Christian texts, but perhaps first attested here. Agency is here assigned to the subject of the dream, rather than to the dreamer's state of mind; this is very common in ancient literature from Homer onwards, cf. Theocr. 11.22–4. For dreams commemorated in funerary epigram cf. LXXIX, *SGO* 04/05/07 (with Hunter 2018: 19–21).

12 [277] πορσύεται: an apparently unique variant form of πορσύνειν, allowing a present tense with a short second syllable.

13 [278] οὔποτε γηθόσυνος νεκύων τάφος 'a tomb of the dead is never a source of joy'; γηθόσυνος is another epic adjective, normally used of persons rather than places. **πρὸ μοίρης** 'before his share (of time)', i.e. young, a possibly unique variant for the common adjective πρόμοιρος, cf. *334*n.; there is again a heightened, poetic colouring to the language.

14 [279] τερπνὰ ... ἄχη: the desired sense is uncertain. Some understand the negative solely with τερπνά, 'gives his mother griefs in which there is no sweetness', but that is at least not a natural way to take the Greek; others look for the sense 'grief, not joy', but that is not what the text says. Although in a funerary context ἄχη would normally be 'griefs', perhaps the sense here is 'troubles, labours': a child who dies young spares his mother a lot of work and trouble, but that work is for a mother a source of pleasure.

15–16 [280–1] 'With her nourishing breasts the most wretched Moschion suckled a double bitter-blow, grief and groans'; a very difficult couplet. On the interpretation offered here, τροφήων (i.e. τροφείων) is intended as an adjective with στέρνων, as though it were τροφίμων or τροφέων. As, however, τροφεῖα (neuter plural) is the standard term for 'pay/recompense for child-rearing', some understand 'a double bitterness of recompense'; references to the debt which a child owes his or her mother for rearing are common in epitaphs. ἠμέλξατο here almost amounts to 'gathered, harvested'.

17 [282] ἠρέμα κωκύσει: a variation of the thought of 10. The oxymoron is highly expressive; there was normally nothing quiet about female lamentation, cf. 19n., Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.662 σῖγα μάλα κλαίει. **δόμον:** i.e. the tomb, cf. 362, *CEG* 641 τάφον, δακρυόεντα δόμον. Poseidonios' 'home' should really be with his mother. **οἵ:** the exclamation, marked off by hiatus before ἀπό, must be understood as the intrusion of Moschion's lamentation into the verse; so too ἀπὸ μούνου / λειπομένη τέκνου is almost a

quotation of the kind of thing which Moschion will say; see Introduction, p. 7. The first editors of the poem understood the text to be οἶ᾽ ἀπὸ κτλ., ‘as one abandoned …’. On interjections in inscribed epitaphs see Rossi 2001: 271–2. **μούνου** looks forward to τηλυγέτωι, see 19n. μοῦνον τηλύγετον is a Homeric phrase, *Il.* 9.478, *Od.* 16.19.

18 [283] τέφρη: the dead are mere dust or ashes, cf. *IGUR* III 1245.5–6 ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες οἱ κάτω τεθνηκότες / ὀστέα, τέφρα γεγόναμεν, Erinna, *AP* 7.710.2 (= *HE* 1782) about Baucis, Ἀΐδα τὰν ὀλίγαν σποδιάν, Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 1.3 πάντα μία ἡμῖν κόνις, Prop. 3.12.31, 35; Sophocles powerfully dramatises the idea in Electra’s ‘urn speech’ (cf. *El.* 1122, 1159). τέφρηι could only mean ‘in [the] ashes’, but a preposition would seem necessary; iotas have also been added at the end of verses 11 and 14.

19 [284] τηλυγέτωι: see *710*n. If Moschion is already ‘old’ (21), then Poseidonios may well have been ‘late-born’. **παναλγέα κωκύσασα** ‘wailing most bitterly’. The only fifth-foot spondee in the poem expressively imitates the drawn-out sounds of lamentation. παναλγέα is an accusative neuter plural used adverbially; the word is found nowhere else, and may be a poetic variation of πανόδυρτος, cf. *GVI* 1746.3–4 μήτηρ δ᾽ ἡ πανόδυρτος … / … αἰάζει μυρί᾽ ὀδυρομένα.

20 [285] εἰνοδίην: the Ionic form of ἐνοδίην; the word is *hapax* in Homer (*Il.* 16.260 of wasps), and is another sign of the poet’s stylistic ambition.

21 [286] ἀνιηρόν: another Homeric *hapax*, *Od.* 17.220, where it occurs in the same verse-position as here. **γήρως:** a metrically useful alternative to the epic genitive γήραος.

22 [287] πρῶτος is here used with the sense and construction of πρότερος; this is common in later Greek, see LSJ B I 3d, Wilhelm 1978: 89.

XXXVIII *SGO* 05/01/36 = *IK* 23.522 = *GVI* 874

A poem for an eleven-year-old boy who was killed when he fell from a tree. The poem probably comes from the area of Smyrna; whether it is late Hellenistic or from the high empire is disputed. The subject matter finds perhaps its closest parallel in inscriptional verse in *SGO* 03/05/04, on a three-year-old boy who drowned in a well (see Hunter 2019); Diodorus, *AP* 7.362 (= *GP* 2136–41) concerns a two-year-old boy who fell down stairs or from a ladder and broke his neck, see 6n. This poem is a striking mixture of some very vivid and poetic diction alongside metrical weakness.

The opening couplet is followed by three hexameters (see Introduction, p. 4), of which the second (4) has been indented on the stone, apparently to preserve the appearance of alternation. The first (3) begins with two additional short syllables. Lines 5 and 10 are, respectively, a faulty hexameter and a faulty pentameter.

Bibl. Pleket 1958: 88–9, Robert 1960: 586–8, Garulli 2014: 143–5.

1 [288] τὸ πρίν: such comparisons between the past and the grim present are a standard epitaphic motif, cf. e.g. *549*, *GVI* 702.1 (Rhenaia, Hellenistic) ἁ πρὶν ἐν ζωοῖς Ἐπικαρπία ἀνδρὶ ποθεινά κτλ., 714.1–2 (Halicarnassus, imperial) ὁ πρὶν ἐνὶ ζωοῖσι φίλοις φίλος, ὁ πρὶν ἐν ἀστοῖς / ἡδύς κτλ. Leonidas, *AP* 7.740 (= *HE* 2435–40) already treats the motif and its language with a certain humour. **πανάρεστος** 'pleasing in every respect', a word not otherwise attested before Byzantine chronicles. πανάριστος is found as early as Hes. *WD* 293 and appears on a number of inscriptions; the idea of the deceased having 'pleased' those with whom he or she lived is, however, familiar in epitaphs, and there are no good grounds for emendation here.

2 [289] Every male is someone's υἱός, but not every male is a παῖς. **Ἀπολλωνίου:** scanned as four syllables, with -ίου as a single long syllable. **τοι** emphasises the pathos of his youth.

3 [290] The hexameter is 'hypermetric': τὸν ἐπ᾽ precedes a full verse. The meaning may be that Dionysios was born to Apollonios somewhere other than where he then lived and died, rather than that he was adopted by Apollonios from somewhere else.

4 [291] χρηστομαθῆ here probably means what φιλομαθῆ would, 'fond of/good at his studies', cf. *IK* 28.120 (Iasos) a παῖς honoured for ἀρετή, εὐταξία, φιλομαθία and φιλοστοργία towards his parents. Of an adult, χρηστομαθής means 'scholarly, given to serious study', cf. Cic. *Att.* 1.6.2, Longinus, *Subl.* 2.3, 44.1. **χαρίεντα** 'charming'; Dionysios' parents naturally take the best view of their dead son. **φίλον καὶ τίμιον ἀστοῖς:** the eleven-year-old is made to sound much more mature and respected than most boys of that age.

5 [292] A metrically faulty attempt at a hexameter. The sense too is difficult, whether we read ἕνδεχ᾽ ἔτη, 'he completed eleven years, the years the Fates gave him', or ἑνδεχέτης, 'eleven years old he completed the years the Fates gave him'. It has been suggested that we have here an instance of a distinction between ἔτος (or, as here, ἕτος), as the natural year of changing seasons, and ἐνιαυτός as a formal 'calendar year' (see Wilhelm 1974: 9–22),

but the metrical fault rather suggests that the line combines two different ways of saying the same thing; perhaps the poet had in mind one phrase with ἔτη and another with ἐνιαυτούς and ended up with a combination.

6 [293] σφόνδυλον: accusative of respect; the fall broke the neck vertebra. **ἐξεράγη:** lit. 'he was shattered', aorist passive of ἐκρήγνυμι. Somewhere in the background here lies the fatal fall of Elpenor, who also broke his neck, *Od.* 10.559–60 (= 11.64–5) ἀλλὰ καταντικρὺ τέγεος πέσεν· ἐκ δέ οἱ αὐχὴν / ἀστραγάλων ἐάγη, see Hunter 2019: 144–5; the Odyssean passage is explicitly echoed at Diodorus, *AP* 7.362.1–2 (= *GP* 2136–7).

7 [294] εἴαξε: intended as the aorist of ἄγνυμι, for the expected ἔαξε or ἦξα. **πατρὸς κόλπους:** the echo of 3 points a pathetic contrast between joy and tragedy. **ἐνιδεύσας** 'soaking'; the only other attestation of this compound is Nic. *Alex.* 144. ἐνι- rather than ἐν- gives a fifth-foot dactyl, and may also have been thought poetic.

8 [295] '… with moist drops of blood spilled in pitiful killing, as he lay dead'. The emotional language almost suggests murder, rather than accidental mishap, and perhaps the poet borrowed the phrase from such a context, cf. esp. Aesch. *Ag.* 1389–90 (the dead Agamemnon described by Clytemnestra) κἀκφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν / βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῆι ψακάδι φοινίαις δρόσου (imitated by Soph. *Ant.* 1238–9), [Eur.] *Rh.* 790–1 θερμὸς δὲ κρουνὸς δεσπότου παρὰ σφαγῆς / βάλλει με δυσθνήισκοντος αἵματος νέου. **οἰκτροφόνου** occurs only here; -φόνος is very productive of compound adjectives. **ψυχολιπής:** probably 'dead', rather than 'dying', cf. *GVI* 1154.1 (Samos, late Hellenistic); the word is late and extremely rare.

9 [296] ἡγήσατο: probably 'led', rather than 'surpassed', though the latter idea will certainly be present also.

10 [297] A faulty pentameter; the initial short syllable of γονεῖσι is intrusive. As, however, κεῖται ὑπὸ σποδιῆι is the first half of a pentameter and <— ⏑> λιπὼν δάκρυα a well-attested second half, the poet may have used ready-made phrases known from elsewhere; it was more important to make clear that it was his parents to whom Dionysios left tears than to produce correct rhythm. Both πατρὶ λιπὼν δάκρυα (*GVI* 1475.2) and ματρὶ λιπὼν δάκρυα (*GVI* 714.4, *IG* XII.7, 447.4) occur elsewhere as the second half of a pentameter. Pleket proposed πατρί here, but it seems very unlikely that γονεῖσι was not what was intended by the poet (whoever that was); for a related case see Hunter 2021: 215. **ὑπὸ σποδιῆι:** a repetition and variation on ὑπὸ γαίηι in 9. **γονεῖσι:** this dative plural of γονεύς is well attested in later inscriptions.

11 [298] βαρύ 'tedious, troublesome'; the apparently polite phrase challenges the passer-by not to have enough time to greet the dead. **Διονύσιε:** here (contrast 1) scanned as four syllables, with Διο- as a single short syllable. **εἶπον:** aorist imperative; for this form, rather than εἰπέ, cf. e.g. *GVI* 427.4, 1315.4.

XXXIX *GVI* 681

An Athenian poem for an actor called Straton (Stefanis 1988: no. 2313) who excelled in the comedies of Menander (= T 59 K–A); he was buried with considerable public honours by the guild of Artists of Dionysus to which he belonged (3n.). The stone identifies Straton more fully as the very successful (περιοδονίκης) comic actor (κωμωιδός) Quintus Marcius Straton of the deme Chollēdai (see Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 406); as Plut. *QC* 5.1.673c–d refers to a very successful κωμωιδός called Straton (Stefanis 1988: no. 2312), and Plutarch himself is known to have had close links with that deme, to which his teacher Ammonius belonged, it is very tempting to identify the two κωμωιδοί. This would place the poem in the late first or early second century AD. Beneath the elegiac poem, and separated from it by an empty space, is a single iambic trimeter in which a passer-by carries out the instructions of the poem; this may be read as a kind of script to be repeated by anyone reading the monument. A 'prosaic' trimeter is appropriate both to be spoken by a passer-by and as the metre *par excellence* of comedy. *SEG* 52.216, a third-century BC Athenian epitaph for a comic actor, Aristiōn of Troizen, concludes with a choliamb, after a hexameter, two pentameters, and two further hexameters, Ἀριστίων, τέχνην δὲ κωμικὴν ἤσκουν; in that poem some of the same considerations apply as in this poem, but we should probably see also a 'comic' joke in the choice of a choliamb, rather than a trimeter, in keeping with the metrical and verbal style of that poem (cf. v.4 θνήισκω πρῶτος ὁ φὺς τρίτατος).

For Menander's *Nachleben* in antiquity more generally see Staab 2012: 39–40, Nervegna 2013.

1 [299] ἐπέων 'verses', cf. *SEG* 63.1330.2 Μενανδρείων ἐπέων ἴδρις ἐν θυμέλαισι, LSJ IVc. **δεδαηκότα** 'knowing, trained in', a perfect participle from *δάω, here constructed with the accusative, as at the only occurrence of this participle in Homer (*Od.* 2.61). For the alternative form δεδαώς cf. *IGUR* III 1247 (a doctor) παντοίης δεδαὼς κραιπνὸν ἄκεσμα νόσου.

2 [300] τύξιας: acc. pl. of τύξις, a word otherwise known only in grammatical glosses, cf. Hesychius τ1649 τύξιν· τεῦξιν, παρασκευήν. The meaning here is uncertain; perhaps 'all manner of Menandrian verses' or 'all

the techniques of (delivering) Menandrian verses'. **εὐιέροις** 'holy', because dedicated to Dionysus. **θυμέλαις:** properly 'altars', i.e. in the orchestra, often tantamount to 'stages' (LSJ IIc), but here perhaps 'theatrical contests', cf. *26*, *SEG* 64.730.5 (Hellenistic Rhodes) a tragic poet victorious ἐν θυμέλαισιν ... Βάκχου.

3 [301] θεράποντες ... Διονύσου: Straton was buried with honours (ἐκτέρισαν) by his colleagues from a guild of the so-called Artists of Dionysus, who were responsible for much of the performance culture of the post-classical world, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 279–321, Hallof–Stroszeck 2002: 123–7. There is nothing servile about being a θεράπων of the god, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 82 (the blessed Bacchant) Διόνυσον θεραπεύει; earlier, poets had been Μουσάων θεράποντες (Hes. *Theog.* 100, Ar. *Birds* 909). **ἀερσίφρονος** 'who lifts the mind', appropriate to both Dionysus and his wine. ἀερσίνοος is used of wine by Ion, *PMG* 744.4 and of Dionysus at *Orph.* fr. 773.9 Bernabé.

4 [302] κισσοφόρωι: a standard epithet of the god, cf. Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 620.

5 [303] Lit. 'Therefore, all you young people [of both sexes] who are a care to Bromios and the Paphian ...'. μέλει is standardly used of gods' care for mortals and for particular mortal activities, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 60 Ἄρτεμιν ἆι μελόμεσθα, Theocr. 17.46 σοὶ τήνα μεμέλητο (Aphrodite's care for Berenice), and so this expression should denote the care that Dionysus and Aphrodite have for the young of Athens, because those two gods represent what is most important for the young and receive the most fervent worship from them. In practice it is, conversely, the young's concern with the two gods which is most at issue, cf. *182* τῶι σοφία μεμέλητο, Eur. *Ba.* 536 ἔτι σοι τοῦ Βρομίου μελήσει; to honour the tomb of Straton will be to honour the gods that his performances celebrated. At *GVI* 721.4 (imperial Rome) a musician is described as φίλος Μουσῶν, Βρομίου Παφίης τε βιώσας. **Βρομίωι:** this name for Dionysus (cf. *87*) is appropriate as it emphasises the noise with which Dionysiac cult was filled (βρέμειν), cf. Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 1; this was not a god to be worshipped in silence. **Παφίηι** 'the Paphian', i.e. Aphrodite. The love of young men and women is standardly said to have been at the heart of Menandrian comedy, cf. e.g. Men. T 39, 90, 92, 94, 104 K–A.

6 [304] δευόμενον γεράων 'lacking in honours', i.e. '(and leave it) lacking in honours', see LSJ δεύω (B) II. To fail to honour Straton's tomb risks the fate of Hippolytus, who ostentatiously refused to greet Aphrodite (Eur.

Hipp. 88–113). **παρανεῖσθε:** a very rare verb (cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.357) picked up by παραστείχοντες in 7.

7 [305] κλεινόν picks up ἀγλαόν in 2. **ὁμαρτῆι** 'all together'. The original form is ἁμαρτῆι, but MSS very often present the form in ὁμ-, which perhaps arose under the influence of ὁμός and to avoid confusion with the aorist stem of ἁμαρτάνω, see Fantuzzi 2020: 313.

8–9 [306–7] The noisy recognition is appropriate to an actor and to the end both of a play and of Straton's life. Menander's plays normally seem to have ended with a request for applause and an appeal for victory (see Sommerstein on Men. *Samia* 733–7, Kassel–Austin on Posidippus fr. 6.12, below n. on κρότωι), and the honours that the young will pay at the tomb suggest the noisy reception of one of Straton's performances. Similarly, *SGO* 17/09/01, a poem for a famous mime-artist (Patara, imperial), concludes with the words with which he used to announce the end of a performance, thus creating an analogy between a performance and life itself. Although a gender distinction is not made explicit, it may be that it is the young women for whom clapping will be sufficient (so ῥαδινάς, 'slender'). **συμπλαταγεῖτε:** perhaps the only occurrence of this compound between Homer (*Il.* 23.102) and late epic. **κρότωι:** cf. e.g. Men. *Dysk.* 967 ἐπικροτήσατε, *Sam.* 734–5 Βακχίωι φιλον κρότον.

XL Bernand 97 = *GVI* 1975

Two poems of the second century AD, for a boy of twelve, which were painted in red ink on one face of a funerary monument in the necropolis of Hermopolis Magna in Upper Egypt; see Bernand 22 for another such example from the same necropolis. The first and much longer poem in iambic trimeters was painted centrally on the monument; the second, two elegiac couplets, is below and off to the side, separated by clear blank space. Above the trimeters is a shallow alcove which may have held offerings or an image of the dead. The poems, which share more than one theme, have always been assumed to be the work of the same poet and to have been painted at the same time; it seems almost certain that they were commissioned by Philhermes, the dead boy's cousin who stood *in loco parentis* for him (see 18–21). The iambics are accurately composed by the standards of less strict, more informal verse: Porson's Law is not observed (3, 5, 10, 22), and there is a penchant for anapaests in the second (4, 5, 8, 17, 22, 25) and fourth (14, 15) feet. The language of the iambics is plain and rather prosaic (see e.g. 7); this contributes to the character portrayal (ἠθοποιΐα) of the speaking boy.

Bibl. Perdrizet 1934 (*editio princeps*), Goossens 1934, 1938, Wilhelm 1936, Vérilhac 1978: 161–4, 1982: 395–6, Casey 2004: 79–80.

2 [309] To judge from photographs, the paint is very badly faded and it is extremely difficult to decipher the second word. Σεύθη would give a well-attested name, Seuthes; the dead is otherwise not named in the poems, although the name might have been displayed elsewhere on the monument. 11, however, perhaps plays with the fact that the boy's name is not displayed, and the published photographs make ΣΟΙΓΗ, i.e. σιγῆι 'in silence', rather more probable.

2–4 [309–11] The dead boy tells the passer-by that he is a 'fragrant corpse'; there is no stench of κεδρία to make him hurry on his way. Whether the boy was buried or incinerated, the implication is that his corpse was not mummified in the Egyptian manner. κεδρία was probably not 'cedar-oil', but either some other product of that tree or a juniper oil or turpentine, see Lucas 1931, Lloyd on Hdt. 2.87. Herodotus claims that, in the middling, less expensive method of embalming, the stomach of the corpse is filled with 'the oil which comes from the cedar' by the use of injections through the anus (2.87); Diodorus, on the other hand, says that embalmers cover the body in κεδρία and other spices for thirty days, a treatment which ensures both preservation and a sweet smell (εὐωδία, 1.91.6). The term κεδρία seems in fact to have been used for more than one substance, but it is likely enough that by the post-classical period the highest standards of the embalming art had somewhat declined and, whether through the use of substandard materials or of coffins which were not airtight or practitioners working too fast and with too little knowledge, burial sites might indeed give off a foul stench. It is amusing that the dead boy is made to know how he smells. For bibliography and guidance on Egyptian burial practice see Lucas 1946: 307–77, Lloyd on Hdt. 2.85–9. **λυπεῖ:** we might have expected a future tense. **εὐώδους νεκροῦ** is almost wittily paradoxical; the verbal contrast with δυσωδία (2) is part of the characterisation of the rather precocious child.

5 [312] τῆς γειναμένης 'the (city) which bore me', cf. e.g. Eur. *Ph.* 996 πατρίδος ἥ μ' ἐγείνατο. **ἄρξας:** lit. 'ruled over', i.e. 'held office (ἀρχή) in'; one at least of those offices was the ἀγορανομία, see 8. **εὐγενῶς** 'nobly', 'properly', with the implication that his holding of the office befitted his own high status and that of his family.

6–7 [313–14] οὐκ [ἐ]ψευσμένον ... γένος 'who instantly did not give the lie to his very lineage', see LSJ s.v. ψεύδω B II; [ἐ]ψευσμένον is active in meaning. For the emphatic double negative cf. 22, *CGCG* 56.4. **ἐπὶ**

τῶι πατρί may be 'as well as his father' (LSJ ἐπί B I 1e), rather than 'in succession to …'.

8 [315] The verse begins with five short syllables and successive anapaests in the second and third feet. **ἀγορανομίαν:** a municipal office with responsibility for the public markets, but perhaps also with legal powers as a kind of notary, see Jouguet 1911: 327–38, Oertel 1917: 332–5, Méautis 1918: 110–16. The dead boy is very proud of his father, whom he presents as a member of the wealthy elite. **ἀπέδωκε** 'conducted, completed', cf. Lyc. *Leocr.* 149 ἀποδέδωκα τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. **καλῶς** varies εὐγενῶς in 5.

9 [316] may imply that his father was depicted on the monument.

10 [317] 'Horse-breeding' always marked out members of the wealthy elite. **νίκαις μυρίαις:** the enthusiastic exaggeration reveals the proud son.

11 [318] 'You recognised me; (mention of) the race-course quickly reminded you'. The boy reacts to the passer-by's imagined realisation of who the dead boy is, cf. 2n., *400*. Alternatively, one or both parts of the utterance might be punctuated as questions: 'Did you recognise me?', 'Did (mention of) the race-course quickly remind you?'. **στάδιον:** in the classical and Hellenistic periods this usually referred to the track for footraces, with ἱππόδρομος used for horse-racing.

12 [319] Wilhelm's decipherment of the painted traces as ΜΟΥΝΑΔΕΜΕ is now generally accepted, but the reading must be regarded as uncertain. If it is correct, connective δέ is then scanned as a long syllable before initial μ in apparent imitation of Homeric practice. Ionic μοῦνα would normally be out of place in trimeters (cf. 24), but cf. Bernand 22.14.

13–14 [320–1] If we are to press the wording, the choice is between the 'personal' fate of the dead boy, i.e. the fact that he was always fated to die at the age of twelve, and the universal reality (cf. 30) that everyone dies sooner or later. **εἱ[μαρ]μένης / τέλος πονηρόν** 'the wretched conclusion which fate brings'. The feminine perfect passive participle of μείρομαι, probably originally with μοῖρα understood, is used at least from Plato onwards for 'fate', see Dodds on Pl. *Gorgias* 512e3; at Pl. *Phd.* 115a5–6 Socrates suggests that it has the ring of tragedy. εἱμαρμένη became the most common Stoic term for 'fate', and it occurs sporadically in epitaphs of imperial date, usually depicted negatively: cf. *IG* XII.7, 51 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνηλεοῦς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου εἱμαρμένης, XII, 7, 410 ὑπὸ τῆς βαρείας καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνηλεοῦς εἱμαρμένης … ὑπὸ πονηρᾶς εἱμαρμένης, and in general *RE* 7.2622–45. **θανάτου:** in view of 15, we should perhaps print Θανάτου.

15 [322] ἐμάρανε ‘withered’, i.e. ‘killed’. **Βηχὶ χρησάμενος διακόνωι** ‘using Cough as his assistant’; the image recalls such comic fantasies as War’s servant Κυδοιμός in Ar. *Peace* 255–84. As this βήξ was fatal, it might here refer to consumption (φθίσις), cf. *GVI* 1875.11–12; this would give ἐμάρανε a literal force.

16 [323] βλέπε ‘consider, reflect’, addressed to the passer-by, see Robert 1944. **φίλτατ’:** the dead boy addresses the pitying passer-by very affectionately. **αὐτὸ τοῦτο:** i.e. weeping.

17–18 [324–5] Whether a twelve-year-old boy would really claim to ‘hate’ weeping at gravestones we may well doubt, though his cousin may have done so. **τὰς καλουμένας / θρηνητρίας**, ‘the so-called mourning-women’, perhaps suggests a certain contempt for the professional title; in his account of Egyptian burial practices, Diodorus introduces the different roles in a similar fashion – ὁ γραμματεὺς λεγόμενος … ὁ λεγόμενος παρασχίστης … οἱ ταριχευταὶ καλούμενοι (1.91.4–5) – and here the dead boy rejects a practice as ‘foreign’ to him. The poem thus allows us to glimpse some of the tensions which simmered in the mixed culture of Hermopolis. Hired mourners of various kinds are occasionally found in Greek texts (cf. Lucian, *On grief* 20 (a θρήνων σοφιστής who leads the mourning), ‘Aesop’, *Fab.* 221 Hausrath–Hunger, Alexiou 2002: 10), but groups of female mourners to perform during the rites are one of the most conspicuous features of Egyptian funerary art (see Werbrouck 1938), and it is likely that the reference here is to that native practice. Whether or not these women were paid in any straightforward fashion for their services is unclear, but they do seem to be ‘professional’ in the sense that they are not necessarily connected to the family of the dead; the mourning of female family members described by Hdt. 2.85 and Diod. Sic. 1.91.1, which follows immediately upon the death, is not what is evoked here. **Φιλερμῆν:** Greeks identified Hermes with the Egyptian Thoth, and Hermopolis was the main centre of this god’s cult; Bernand 22 are four roughly contemporary poems for Hermokrates, son of Hermaios.

19 [326] γνήσιον ‘real’, ‘worthy of the name’, see Robert 1965: 218–20; the usage is explained by the following verses.

20 [327] ἧιπερ ‘by which’ (i.e. nature). The boy’s father was presumably dead, and his cousin (ἀνεψιός), who may in fact have already been his brother by adoption, had taken on responsibility for him.

21 [328] τάξιν ‘position, role’, see LSJ III.

22–6 [329–33] We may again suspect that Philhermes' views about burial are here projected on to the dead boy, who is made to speak in very decisive, almost legalistic, terms; see in particular the opposition between κατορύξαντ' and ἀνορύττειν. **μή ... μηδόλως:** another emphatic double negative, cf. 6–7. μηδόλως, from μηδ' ὅλως 'not even at all', is found in late texts.

23–4 [330–1] The implications of these verses are uncertain. Most likely, a specifically Egyptian practice may be evoked, whereby corpses which had been only summarily treated were subsequently exhumed and then reburied after further rites and embalming; the phrase δευτέρα ταφή on certain papyri seems to refer to this practice, see Goossens 1938. Others have seen a reference to a practice of simply removing mummies or coffins from their place in the necropolis after a period in order to make way for new burials, but a rejection of particular, formal rites seems more in keeping with the rest of the poem.

25–6 [332–3] pick up the themes and language of 2–4 to close a ring around the iambics. **δυσώδους ἀποφορᾶς** 'foul stench', cf. Diod. Sic. 24.12.3, Dion. Hal. *AR* 10.53.4 (both of the stench of corpses), Wilhelm 1936. **φεύγηις:** the subject is the passer-by.

27 [334] πρόμοιρον: a common term for those who die young; the jingle with Μοῖρα emphasises the unfairness of what has happened.

29 [336] picks up the themes of the iambics; 'many burials' is a scornful exaggeration, cf. 23–4n.

30 [337] Cf. 14. **λυσιμελής** is twice used in *Od.* of sleep (20.57, 23.343) and also of love in archaic poetry; it is first found of death at Eur. *Suppl.* 47, but λῦσε δὲ γυῖα is a formulaic Homeric description of one warrior killing another.

XLI *SGO* 07/05/04 = *IK* 53.90 = *GVI* 1098

An imperial-age epitaph for Aphrodisios who claims to have been murdered by his wife's lover. The origin of the stone is unknown, but 2 is normally taken to refer to Alexandria in the Troad south of Ilion. In a late Hellenistic poem from Cyzicus a man claims that his murderer was exiled in punishment (*SGO* 08/01/48); here nothing is said about the murderer's fate. The poem surrounds a frontal depiction of the deceased, holding what seems to be a papyrus roll in his right hand.

Bibl. Robert 1938: 96–8.

1 [338] μοι Ἀφροδίσιος: the proper name is marked off by hiatus before it.

2 [339] Aphrodisios claims to have been μεσόχορος, the man who stood in the centre of a chorus and was in charge of it; the position was a significant public honour, and may be indicated by the papyrus roll in the image on the stone.

3 [340] θνήισκω: a vivid present tense with words for dying is often found in inscribed epitaphs of the classical period, cf. e.g. *25*, *466*, Tueller 2016: 223–5.

4 [341] κλεψίγαμον 'adulterous', perhaps the earliest attestation of this word-group, which becomes common in Byzantine texts for both 'adultery' and 'sex outside marriage'. Nonnus, *Dion.* uses the word twice of Zeus's affairs (8.60, 25.116). The more common term in later epic (and cf. *GVI* 1249.5) is γαμοκλόπος and related words. **μιεράν:** a late form for μιαρ-. **περί:** probably adverbial, 'utterly' or perhaps 'absolutely certainly', see LSJ E II. Since no certain example of a compound περιόλλυμι is attested, it is unlikely that περὶ … ὀλέσει is an example of tmesis. For the theme of revenge in epitaphs cf. *SEG* 64.2133. The second syllable of περί remains short, despite the following Z-, cf. Gow–Page on *HE* 4199, West 1982: 17.

5 [342] ταύτης seems an unavoidable correction for ταύτην, unless γαμέτης all but amounts to a participle, 'one screwing her in secret'; Wilhelm 1950: 25–6 proposed that two lines, containing a verb governing ταύτην, had dropped out. **λάθριος γαμέτης** puts his κλεψίγαμος wife and her lover on an equally low footing, cf. Agathias, *AP* 7.572.1–2 λάθριος ἀνήρ, / λέκτρον ὑποκλέπτων ἀλλοτρίης ἀλόχου. The lover was not a γαμέτης in the sense 'husband' (though the word drips with sarcasm), but rather a 'sex-partner'; for γαμεῖν as 'have sex with' see LSJ I 2, *DGE* I 3. **κἀμὸν γένος αὐχῶν:** lit. 'and one boasting of my family', rather than 'actually boasting of my family'. The lover was apparently a relative of Aphrodisios; Welcker 1828: 73 suggested that the lover used this connection to win over Aphrodisios' wife. For the expression cf. *GVI* 1091.1 οὔνομα δ' αὐχῶ, *SEG* 49.435.11 ἀνὴρ ὤριστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γένος αὐχῶν, Marcellinus, *Thucyd.* 2 αὐχεῖ τὸ γένος ὁ συγγραφεύς; αὐχεῖν γένος is not uncommon in Byzantine texts. Other suggestions for the inscribed ΛΥΧΩΝ are αἰσχῶν 'shaming' (Jacobs), μυχῶν (i.e. μοιχῶν, Zingerle) or to take it as Λύχων, the name of the murderer; that name is unattested, but the very common Λύκων would well suit an adulterer, if it could be understood as 'Mr Wolf', despite the long first syllable.

6 [343] σφάξε με 'he slaughtered/sacrificed me'; this should mean that Aphrodisios had his throat slit, but perhaps the poet has just chosen a colourful and emotive word, cf. *88*, *SEG* 29.1219 (Hellenistic Kyme) Ἀΐδας ἔσφαξε. **κἀφ' ὕψους δισκοβόλησε** 'and hurled me like a discus down from a height', a vivid image of the body spinning down from a cliff or rooftop, cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 447–8 *νιν* / σφάξαι μενοινᾶς ἢ πετρῶν ὦσαι κάτα. This is the only occurrence of δισκοβολεῖν, a late word, with a direct object; the verb is appropriate for the speaker – a young (and perhaps athletic) man. **νέον**, 'a young man', seems rather isolated at the end of the sentence, but it leads into what follows.

7 [344] A mannered, and somewhat awkward, verse, with two participles of related verbs in asyndeton, stresses the tragic waste which Aphrodisios' death is claimed to be. **δισδέκατον**, 'twentieth', is a form not found elsewhere. **κατέχοντα:** there is no close parallel for κατέχειν governing ἔτος to express age. **κάλλος ἔχοντα:** Aphrodisios' looks are claimed to match his name.

8 [345] κλώσασαι 'having spun', i.e. this was Aphrodisios' fate. **ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδηι** 'an adornment for Hades'; Aphrodisios will be a celebrity in the Underworld, as he was in life.

XLII *SGO* 05/01/64 = *IK* 23.539 = *GVI* 1765

A poem from Smyrna, of perhaps the second or third century AD. The original stone is lost, and it is not certain whether or not the poem as it has been transcribed is complete; the names of the deceased and his parents may have been given in a different part of the inscription. The loss of the original inscription also causes textual difficulties in a number of places (see 4, 10, 12, 14nn.). In a remarkable narrative, a young man who died of illness describes how his ψυχή was taken up to heaven, where he now dwells with the gods and serves them at their banquets as Ganymede traditionally did. Not all the details of the narrative are clear and there is a possibility that one or more verses has been lost (see 10n.), but the style is heavily Homeric, as perhaps befits a poem from Smyrna, a city with one of the longest and most persistent claims to be Homer's birthplace; Homerising epitaphs, including what amount to centos, are a notable feature of the poetic culture of imperial Asia Minor (see Introduction, p. 5). The marked repetition and light variation of individual words and phrases throughout the poem may be intended to heighten a 'Homeric' flavour. With the idea of life among the traditional gods of Homeric poetry, one

may compare *GVI* 1996.8–9 (imperial Athens) in which the deceased is taken by 'the gods' to Olympus and partakes of nectar and ambrosia; in the Plutarchan *Consolation* (above, p. 8), the deceased young man is said to be 'with the gods and joining in their feasting' (121f). In *SEG* 31.846 (Italy, third century AD) a baby boy recounts that Zeus's eagle snatched (ἥρπασε) him up and that he is now σύνεδρος with the morning and evening stars; that poem shows how the Ganymede theme finds resonances throughout the epitaphic tradition. Particularly important here as models seem to be the scenes of Olympian feasting at *Il.* 1.595–62 and 4.1–4.

Bibl. Vérilhac 1982: 317–21, Garulli 2012: 232–7, Hunter 2018: 49–55.

1–3 [346–8] describe the death of the young man with versions of very traditional motifs; the narrative of what happened to his ψυχή then comes in 4 with a surprise, though μέν looks forward to δέ in 4.

1 [346] The contrast of darkness and light, and death as a kind of sleep, are very traditional motifs. The former is picked up later in the brilliant gleam of heaven (7, 11, 12). **κατέχει** 'has in its power'. **ὑπνοδοτείρη:** cf. Eur. *Or.* 174–5 Νύξ, / ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν; the broader context of that song (grief, the sufferings of Orestes' body – δέμας 166, ἀλγέων 180, Night that comes 'from Erebos', 176) and the familiarity of the *Orestes* in later antiquity allow the thought of a direct borrowing here. The masculine ὑπνοδότας occurs at [Aesch.] *PV* 575.

2 [347] For death as a release from suffering see *713*n. **ἡδέϊ ὕπνωι:** the hiatus imitates νήλεϊ ὕπνωι at the end of *Od.* 12.372.

3 [348] λήθης: see *472*n. Here 'forgetfulness' is a blessed gift, as it is forgetfulness of suffering. **πρὸς τέρμασι Μοίρης** 'at the limits determined by Fate', i.e. when my allotted portion of life was finished. Kaibel's προστάγμασι, 'at the orders of …', gives excellent sense, but πρόσταγμα is entirely prosaic until much later antiquity.

4–5 [349–50] The escape of the ψυχή to the upper air is a very common theme, cf. *56*n., *GVI* 1325.4 (imperial Cyprus) ἡ γάρ μοι ψυχὴ μὲν ἐς αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐλάς, Lattimore 1942: 28–36. The speed of the soul's flight 'on light wing' marks its pleasure in escape from the ills of the body, cf. [Pl.], *Axiochus* 366a6–8 (? first century BC) 'the soul … longs for the heavenly *aithēr* to which it is kin (τὸν οὐράνιον … καὶ σύμφυλον αἰθέρα), and thirsts for it, in its desire for the mode of life and the dancing there', Seneca, *Ad Polybium* 9.8 (the deceased's soul) *fruitur nunc aperto et libero caelo,*

ex humili atque depresso in eum emicuit locum …, *Ad Marciam* 23.2 (souls) *liberati leuiores ad originem suam revolant*; such texts combine traditional ideas of death with the notion that the philosopher's soul is always high in the heavens and busy with contemplation, even before the death of the body (Pl. *Tht.* 173e, 176a–b, Seneca, *Ad Helviam* 20.2, etc.). **ἐκ κραδίης:** a novel variant for the familiar and metrically identical ἐκ ῥεθέων or ἐκ μελέων (*GVI* 1283.9, 1971.6, 2040.5, etc.), just perhaps as the verse inverts the movement (and emotional misery) of the Homeric ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδόσδε βεβήκει (*Il.* 16.856, 22.362). Nevertheless, the expression is very surprising, and it is unfortunate that the reading cannot be checked against the original stone; emendations include ἔκ ῥ' αἴης (Jacobs) and ἐκ γαίης (Cougny). **ἐς αἴθερον εἴκελος αὔρηι:** such an accusative of αἰθήρ is nowhere else attested, and is very surprising in such a Homerising poem; correction to αἰθέρα would produce a further hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis. Jacobs suggested αἰθέρ' ἐπείκελος, which, however, would breach 'Hermann's bridge' (the avoidance of word-division after the second syllable of a fourth-foot dactyl), and this adjectival form is in any case very doubtful; Homer uses ἐπιείκελος. For the motif of the dead escaping 'like a breeze' see Guarducci 1939: III 44.22 (third or fourth century AD) ὡς ἄνεμος γὰρ ἁπλῶς ἐπετάσθη; εἴκελος αὔρηι concludes hexameters in Quint. Smyrn. (3.781, 5.396) and εἴκελος αὔραις nine times in Nonnus, *Dion.* At Pl. *Phaedo* 70a5, Cebes tells Socrates that men are afraid that at death the soul scatters ὥσπερ πνεῦμα ἢ καπνός, see Introduction, pp. 21–2 on the Homeric afterlife. **κοῦφον … πολλῶι** '… fluttering its light wing in its course through the thick air'. **ἠέρι πολλῶι:** ἠέρι πολλῆι concludes five hexameters in Homer, always in a scene of divine action; the masculine ἠέρι πολλῶι is, however, the dominant tradition at Hes. *Theog.* 9 (where see West's n.), and there seems no reason to emend here. See further 8–9n.

6 [351] κατέχει here probably means 'receives, gives shelter to'; the present tense increases the vividness of the narrative, and the repetition of the verb from 1 points the contrast between what happened to his body and to his ψυχή. **ἄσσον ἰόντα** concludes a hexameter at *Il.* 22.92.

7 [352] φάος Ἠριγενείης concludes a hexameter at Quint. Smyrn. 1.79; the model is *Od.* 13.94 φάος Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης. This is a further contrast to the extinction of the 'light of life' in 1. The meaning is perhaps not so much that the gods live at the extreme east of heaven with Dawn, or that from heaven one can see all the way to the edge of the sky, but rather that the abode of the immortals is filled with a wondrously pure light, cf. *Od.* 6.44–5, Lucian, *Sacrifices* 8, Seneca, *Ad Marciam* 25.2 (the soul in heaven)

noua luce gaudentem, *716*n.; the deceased's vision of Dawn is also a marker of his entry into a new 'life' away from the darkness of death.

8–9 [353–4] Hermes' role as ψυχοπομπός is introduced surprisingly late in the narrative; one might wonder whether he was in fact there from the very beginning of the flight of the ψυχή or only appeared (in the role of divine door-keeper?) when the deceased 'drew near' (6) and already beheld the brilliant upper light. In the latter case, which is closer to the order of the narrative, οὐρανόν, an accusative of motion towards without a preposition, will mean, not 'to heaven (from the earth)', but 'to (the starry) heaven (where the gods dwell)'. Aristarchus distinguished in Homer between ἀήρ, the lower air between the earth and the clouds, and αἰθήρ, the upper air between the clouds and the firmament, οὐρανός, which was also sometimes synonymous with αἰθήρ, cf. *691*, Schmidt 1976: 75–81, Rengakos 1994: 37–9, Schironi 2018: 323–5; the Smyrna poet seems to reflect some version of this: Hermes meets the young man's ψυχή when it has already cleared the lower air (5) and leads him to the highest region of the cosmos. **τιμή** foreshadows the 'Ganymede theme', cf. *HHAphr.* 205 (Ganymede) πάντεσσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτοισι. **Ἑρμείαο λόγοις** most probably means that Hermes told the deceased about the honours which Zeus was granting him, cf. *HHAphr.* 213–15, Hermes Ζηνὸς ἐφημοσύνῃσι explains to Tros what has happened to Ganymede. Others understand that Hermes had put in a good word for the deceased with Zeus. For Hermes' role in taking the ψυχή to heaven cf. *GVI* 1829.3 (imperial Miletos); for Hermes leading the dead to the Underworld (as in *Od.* 24) or the Isles of the Blessed cf. e.g. *GVI* 1155.19–20 (Arkesine, Hellenistic), 1249.9–10 (Crete, Hellenistic) Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱέ, ἄγ' εὐσεβέων ἐπὶ χῶρον / ἄνδρα κτλ., 1823.8, Hegesippus, *AP* 7.545 (= *HE* 1913–16), Vérilhac 1982: 303–7. ψυχοπομπός is first attested of Charon at Eur. *Alc.* 361 (and cf. 441 νεκροπομπός); it is not found of Hermes until Diod. Sic. 1.96, though it is not unlikely that the word figured in the debates of Aristarchus and others concerning the *nekuia* of *Od.* 24 (see Schol. *Od.* 24.1). **χειρῶν** 'by the hands'; the genitive is analogous to that with verbs of touching or laying hold of, cf. *Od.* 3.439 βοῦν δ' ἀγέτην κεράων, *676–7*n.

10 [355] αὐτίκα τιμήσας presumably implies that Hermes immediately treated the deceased with respect. Nevertheless, the τιμή paid to the deceased is from Zeus (8) and one would have expected it to be Zeus, not Hermes, who granted the exceptional honours of 10–12, as in the case of Ganymede; that one or more verses, in which Zeus would have been introduced as the subject of τιμήσας and ἔδωκεν, have fallen out after

9 seems not improbable. **κλέος ἐσθλόν** occurs twelve times in Homer, four in this verse-position.

11 [356] κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα: this verse-clausula occurs five times in Homer, and similar endings are common, cf. *698*n. There is perhaps an evocation of the idea that the pious dead become stars in the sky, cf. *56*n.

12 [357] χρυσείοισι θρόνοισι: Zeus sits χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον at *Il.* 8.442, and at 8.436–7 Hera and Athena seat themselves χρυσέοισιν ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι … μίγδ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι; gold is the material and colour most associated with the gods throughout ancient poetry. **παρήμενον** is common in this verse-position in Homer. **ἐς φιλότητα** must mean 'in friendship', but '(in)to friendship' would be the expected meaning of the phrase; perhaps 'for friendship's sake', see LSJ εἰς V 2. ἐν φιλότητι is a Homeric verse-ending, and emendation to that phrase here is tempting.

13 [358] The final syllable of παρά is lengthened before τρ-, but that of ἀμβροσίῃσι remains short in the same position; elsewhere in the poem, such initial clusters do not lengthen a preceding short syllable. **τριπόδεσσι:** three-footed side-tables used in feasting, see Ath. 2.49a–d, LSJ IV 3. Perhaps, however, τριπόδεσσι is to be understood as an adjective with τραπέζαις. **ἀμβροσίῃσι:** in Homer, Hermes has sandals which are ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια (*Il.* 24.341, *Od.* 1.97, 5.45) and divine horses can be stalled in 'ambrosial' stables (*Il.* 8.434). Here the epithet conveys the young man's wonder at what he sees, but perhaps also suggests 'laden with ambrosia' (Vérilhac 1982: 318).

14 [359] ἡδόμενον: the young man certainly takes as much pleasure (ἦδος, cf. *Il.* 1.576) in the feast as the gods, but ἡδόμενοι of the gods deserves consideration here. **κατὰ δαῖτα:** three times in Homer. **φίλον εἰσορόωσιν** 'look upon me as a *philos*', cf. 12. εἰσορόωσιν occurs four times at verse-end in Homer.

15 [360] An association of smiling with the cheeks is found in very late and Byzantine texts (Ephraem Syrus, *Adv. Mulieres* 204.2 ταῖς παρειαῖς μειδιῶσα, John Chrysostom, *PG* 61, 254.2); no other plausible suggestion has been made, but the text as printed must be considered at least uncertain.

16 [361] The printed supplement offers a very likely sense, but must not be considered as certain; we do not know whether this is the last verse of the poem. The combination of divine smiles and the pouring of drink (of some kind) seems to evoke the divine symposium at the

end of *Iliad* 1, in which Hephaestus calms his mother Hera's anger with Zeus and amuses the gods by himself playing the role of a limping Ganymede. **προχοαῖσιν:** the textual loss at the head of the verse leaves the meaning uncertain. Possibilities are (i) 'libations' (LSJ II), a late usage; (ii) 'wine pourers, jugs', i.e. a synonym for οἰνοχοαῖς, cf. Eur. *Tr.* 820 (Ganymede) χρυσέαις ἐν οἰνοχοαῖς; (iii) the equivalent of προχόοις: πρόχοος is a standard Homeric term for 'cups'. At *HHAphr.* 206 Ganymede pours nectar χρυσέου ἐκ κρητῆρος. (ii) or (iii), which differ very little, seem more likely than (i). **ἐπισπένδω:** the young man is, in essence, pouring drinks for the immortals, but he uses a verb which suggests mortals on earth pouring libations to the gods; no wonder the gods are smiling.

XLIII *SGO* 09/11/02 = *IK* 47.9

An epitaph from Heraclea Pontica in Bithynia for a successful pantomime performer; the monument cannot be dated more narrowly than to the second or third century AD. Crispus came from Alexandria, and pantomime, which was very popular all over the empire, is known to have been practised and watched with great enthusiasm in both Alexandria and Bithynia. In pantomime, a masked performer danced out narratives drawn from mythology to the accompaniment of music and (often) song from a chorus; our best evidence for this art form is Lucian's *On dance*. See in general Robert 1969: 654–70, Lada-Richards 2007, Hall–Wyles 2008, Webb 2017. Comparable poems for pantomime dancers and similar performers include Martial 11.13 (for the dancer Paris, also connected with Alexandria), *GVI* 515 (Hellenistic Cyprus, a mime or βιολόγος), 675 (imperial Italy, a female mime), *SEG* 55.723 (a mime who was initiated in the Samothracian mysteries), 742 (a Roman epitaph for a pantomime) and *SGO* 17/09/01 (Patara, also for a βιολόγος); see Strasser 2004.

The poem is in sotadeans, an ionic length permitting great flexibility and variety, named after Sotades of Maroneia, a satirical poet of the first half of the third century BC who became notorious for verses attacking the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister. Sotadeans were widely used in various contexts across the empire (see e.g. Lucian, *Gout* 113–24, Şahin 1975: 294, Hendriks–Parsons–Worp 1981: 76–8); another Bithynian epitaph apparently in sotadeans is preserved from the early empire (*SGO* 09/14/98). There may be various reasons for their use here. This rapid verse, with its very many short syllables and constant changes, is appropriate to the quicksilver mutability of the pantomime performer (cf. Lucian, *Dance* 31: compared with tragedy, pantomime dances are ποικιλώτεροι … καὶ πολυμαθέστεραι καὶ μυρίας μεταβολὰς ἔχουσαι), and it stands in pointed

contrast with the eternal changelessness of death and its monuments, here given remarkable emphasis in 1–10. The description of the cold and brutal stone in rapidly changing sotadeans perhaps points bitterly to the remarkable ability of a pantomime to bring any subject to full life and to an artistic talent cruelly cut short. Moreover, one ancient view both of sotadeans (and of ionics more generally) and of pantomime associated them with effeminised and lascivious dancing (cf. Lucian, *Dance* 2, Ath. 14.620, Plaut. *Stich.* 769, *Pseud.* 1275), and it may be that, in celebrating Crispus in this metre, the poem both adopts and rewrites literary history: sotadeans are indeed appropriate for a pantomime, but not in the ignorant manner of popular gossip. *SEG* 54.961 (southern Italy, first century AD) commemorates the son of a pantomime called Ionicus (presumably a 'professional name', see 12n.). The mannered, almost awkward, expression of the poem, reminiscent in some ways of forms of 'Asianist' rhetoric, is in part the result of the metre, but in part too reflects the self-conscious artistry of the pantomime.

A sotadean may be described as a catalectic form of ionic tetrameter:

— — ⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | — —

Together with the standard resolution of long syllables and the contraction of ⏑⏑, various forms of substitution and rearrangement ('anaclasis') allow — — ⏑⏑ to be replaced by other lengths, most commonly — ⏑ — ×, though — ⏑⏑ —, — — — and even — — — ⏑ (15, 18) also occur, see West 1982: 143–5, Bettini 1982. The poem for Crispus mixes 'pure' sotadeans with other, very closely related lengths, see Palumbo Stracca 1994; 7, 14 and 15 are ionic tetrameters (7 is catalectic), 8 and 9 are catalectic sotadeans, and 10 concludes ⏑ — rather than — —. Uncertainties in the following schema are discussed in the commentary.

— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | — —
— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — — ⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ | — —
— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — —
— — ⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — ⏑ — ⏑ | — —
— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — ⏑ — ⏑ | — ⏑ — ⏑ | — —
— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — —
— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ | ⏑ — —
— ⏑⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ | —
— — ⏑⏑ | — — — | — ⏑⏑⏑ — | —
— ⏑⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑ — | ⏑ —
— ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | — —
— — ⏑⏑ | — — ⏑⏑ | — ⏑ — ⏑ | — —
⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ | — ⏑ — ⏑ | — ⏑ — ⏑ | — —

— — — | — ∪ — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ | — ∪ — —
— — ∪∪ | — ∪ — ∪ | — — — ∪ | — ∪ — —
— — — | — — ∪∪ | — — ∪∪ | — —
— — ∪∪ | — — ∪∪ | — ∪∪∪∪ | — —
∪∪ — ∪∪ | — — — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ | — —

Bibl. Şahin 1975, Palumbo Stracca 1994.

1 [362] ‘The last houses and walls for mortals (are) tombs’, cf. 2. **μερόπων:** Homer never uses μέροπες as a noun by itself, but always with ἄνθρωποι or βροτοί; the usage, however, becomes standard in later poetry. The word is already acknowledged as an arcane gloss of unknown meaning at Straton fr. 1.6–8. **τείχεα** leads into the idea of security in 2.

2–6 [363–7] A series of phrases further describes the nature of tombs. Alternative punctuations are possible in 2–3 and 4–5, but the short, multiple phrases are an effective way of expressing the speaker’s despair about the finality of death.

2 [363] πιστότερα δόμων σώμασιν: tombs are not exposed to the changing fortunes of ordinary homes. πιστότερα and παραθῆκαι frame the verse with the idea of security. **δακρύων παραθῆκαι:** lit. ‘deposits for tears’; ‘places to deposit tears’ is most probably meant.

3 [364] The verse, and indeed the first part of the poem generally, play against the traditional idea that physical monuments, as opposed to song, crumble away with time and offer no long-term route to κλέος, cf. e.g. Simonides, *PMG* 531.4–5, 581, Pind. *Pyth.* 6.10–14, Nisbet–Rudd 2004: 365–6, *237*n. In an age before audio and video recordings, a pantomime dancer did indeed leave nothing behind except short-term memories; tombs are as close to permanent memorials as such performers can attain.

4 [365] σιγῆς πόλις: the striking phrase has no obvious ancient parallel. The juxtaposition of πόλις and οἶκος stresses that the tomb is now the only ‘affiliation’ which the dead have. **οἶκος ἴδιος** may be a self-contained phrase, but it seems better to take it with what follows, ‘one’s own home is the lasting bed …’. **κοίτη:** cf. *GVI* 1469.1 ἀενάους ἐνέρων πρὸς ἀλαμπέας ἵκεο κοίτας, *SEG* 46.2222.2 Μύρτιλον ἤδ’ εὐνὴ λαϊνέη κατέχει, Soph. *OC* 1706–7 κοίταν δ’ ἔχει / νέρθεν εὐσκίαστον αἰέν; the image exploits the closeness of sleep and death (cf. 6), but also their difference: death is the bed ‘which remains’.

5 [366] '… on which the form, bringing its beauty as a contribution, is laid down'. Although μορφή can sometimes approach in meaning to simple 'body', here it is clearly 'graceful, shapely form'; παρατίθεται picks up παραθῆκαι in 2, but the following verse makes clear that this 'deposit' is irretrievable.

6 [367] The scansion offered above assumes κοὐκέτι for καὶ οὐκέτι and hiatus in ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ; Palumbo Stracca 1994: 231 accepts both hiatuses and scans the verse as an ionic tetrameter. **ἀπέλαβε:** sc. τὸ κάλλος; the aorist is gnomic. **γυμνή:** without the beauty which adorns it, 'form' has become naked. The conceit is a variation on the idea that the dead are always naked and without clothes of any kind, cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 523e, Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead*, etc.

7 [368] τίς πέλας ὁ τάφος; 'What is the tomb nearby?'

8 [369] στυγνὰ τροπαῖα βίου 'grim trophies over life', cf. *563*n.; for tombs and *stēlai* as τροπαῖα cf. *GVI* 727.2, *SEG* 36.1260. **λελυμένα … σημεῖα:** probably 'lowered/disbanded standards', a phrase which continues the military image of τροπαῖα. Others understand a reference to the tomb as a 'sign' of the dead, or to the letters which make up the dead man's name; the exact meaning of the phrase is not perspicuous. λέλυμαι can itself mean 'I have died', cf. *SEG* 48.934, *641* λυθεῖσαν of a dead woman, and λυσιμελής of death (*337*n.). **τηγνυμένων:** if sound, the otherwise unattested τήγνυμι is probably a variant of τήκω: the dead are 'those who are melting away', with a pointed juxtaposition to λελυμένα (λύω also can be used of melting ice or snow), cf. Soph. *Ant.* 906 κατθανὼν ἐτήκετο, *GVI* 720.4 (imperial Athens) μήτε νόσωι μητ' ὀδύνῃσι τακείς, *598–9*n. The perfect tense might have been expected, but that seems no obstacle in the style of this poem. The attractive πηγνυμένων would mean 'growing stiff/cold', cf. *SEG* 48.934.16 νέκυς ὢν ἐπάγη, Antiphanes fr. 164.7 πήγνυμαι σαφῶς (at the prices fishmongers charge), rather than 'being stuck in, made fast in', despite *GVI* 1942.3 (imperial Thrace) ἀλλ' ὁ θανὼν κεῖται πεδίωι λίθος οἷα πεπηγώς.

9–10 [370–1] νεκύων is scanned as two syllables (◡ —), and the third metron is a resolved form of — ◡ — ×. **ῥήματα θανόντων** is more likely another self-standing phrase than the object of λαλήσατε. **τοῖς ἀλάλοισι λαλήσατε γράμμασι:** for this common epitaphic motif see *60–1*n. It is very appropriate for a pantomime who 'did all his talking with his hands', cf. *GVI* 742.1 ἱστορίας δείξας καὶ χειρσὶν ἅπαντα λαλήσας, Lucian, *Dance* 62 '(the audience must) understand a dumb man and listen to a dancer who does not speak (μὴ λαλέοντος)', 63 ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, Nonnus, *Dion.* 19.200 σιγὴν ποικιλόμυθον ἀναυδέι χειρὶ χαράσσων.

11 [372] The scansion assumes the lengthening of the final syllable of κατέλιπεν at the head of the second metron. **προδαπανήσας**, lit. 'having exhausted beforehand', continues the financial imagery from 2–5.

12 [373] Κρίσπος: as we know of another pantomime called Crispus from Apameia in Syria (Robert 1969: 658–9), it is possible that this was a 'professional name' taken by performers ('Mr Curly-Hair'), rather than the dead man's real name. **Φαρίης γῆς:** 'the land of the Pharos' is Alexandria or, more generally, Egypt, cf. Posidippus, *Epigr.* 116.1 AB, Dion. Perieg. 115, Bernand 73.2, *SEG* 63.859.5. **σταχυητρόφου:** Egypt was a major source of grain throughout antiquity, and this fertility was owed to the flooding of the Nile, cf. e.g. Theocr. 17.78 (with Hunter 2003: 155–6). This adjective is used of the Nile also at *Orac. Sib.* 4.74; variants include σταχυητόκος ('Hymn to the Nile' 22, see Cribiore 1995) and εὔσταχυς (Heliod. 2.26.5, in an oracular poem).

14 [375] τῆς ἐνρύθμου τραγῳδίας: i.e. pantomime; other variants for this expression found in inscriptions include τραγικὴ ἔνρυθμος κίνησις and ἐνρύθμου κινήσεως ὑπόκρισις, cf. e.g. *SEG* 1.529, *IK* 16.2071. ῥυθμός is an important theme of Lucian, *Dance.* **στέφος λαβὼν τὸ πρῶτον** very probably refers to the level of Crispus' achievement (cf. *SEG* 28.522, a pantomime, πάντων κρείσσονα δ' εἶχα τέχνην), not to a claim that he won on the first occasion at which there was a contest for pantomime at an important festival (cf. Robert 1969: 667–8). Strasser 2004: 206–7 suggests that he won at his first competition and then died.

15 [376] χειρονομοῦντα: a standard verb to describe the gestures of pantomimes and other dancers, cf. Ath. 14.629b, Olson 2018; Lucian, *Dance* 69 calls dancers χειρίσοφοι. In an early imperial epitaph from Larisa (*SEG* 28.522) a pantomime describes his art, χειρσὶν ἐμαῖς πλάσσων δὲ θεῶν τύπον καὶ θυμέλαισιν / ἀνδράσιν ἐνδόξοις πᾶσι πρόσωπα νέμων. **δοξάσας** 'extolled, raised high', LSJ δοξάζω II. **ὁ κόσμος:** the whole world was under Crispus' spell.

16 [377] '… saw [him] as the golden flower of its own theatres'; at Martial 11.13.5 the dead Paris is *Romani decus et dolor theatri*, and at *SEG* 50.1191 a comic actor was ἄνθος ἀγώνων. χρύσεον ἄνθος is an epitaphic formula, cf. *SEG* 35.630.3, 38.590.3. **χρύσεον** is scanned as two long syllables.

17 [378] λαμπομένην picks up χρύσεον. **χάριν:** cf. *GVI* 515.2 (a mime) ἔξοχον ἐν χάρισιν, *SEG* 55.723.4 (a mime) τέρπων ταῖς φυσικαῖς μουσορύτοις χάρισι, Martial 11.13.4 (on Paris) *ars et gratia, lusus et uoluptas.*

18 [379] Lit. 'The year lacking to three completed decades …', i.e. Crispus died at the age of 29; see LSJ λείπω II 2c. **ἐνιαυτός:** scanned as three syllables, ἐν(ι)αυτός.

XLIV *SGO* 17/19/01.11–14

A poem of probably the early third century AD from Olympos in Lycia for Eudemos, a shipowner and merchant. It was engraved, together with the image of a ship, on the face of a sarcophagus. In the central panel of the sarcophagus, now largely destroyed by grave-robbers, was a longer poem spoken by Eudemos in the first person; that poem begins ναυκληρῶν Εὔδημος ἐγὼ πόρον οἶδα κλυδώνων and clearly told of Eudemos' life travelling to and from the Pontic region. The surviving poem appears to have echoed the longer, central poem. It uses familiar motifs of life as a stormy journey at sea which reaches its final haven in death, see *162–3*n.; such motifs have particular point for someone such as Eudemos.

Bibl. Adak–Atvur 1997.

1 [380] The jingle and contrast of καταγώγιον ~ ἀναγωγή emphasises that this really is the end: all possibilities have been excluded. **ὅρμος ὅδ':** i.e. the sarcophagus. For death as 'the final anchorage' cf. e.g. Leonidas, *AP* 7.472b (= *HE* 2441–2), *162–3*n. **τέλους καταγώγιον** 'the final stopping-place'. τέλους is perhaps an explanatory genitive (Smyth §1322), 'the stopping-place which is the end'. **ἀναγωγή** 'setting out, putting out to sea'.

2 [381] **ἔστι** 'it is possible'. **φάους:** ships would set off at first light, but death is an unrelieved blackness.

3 [382] **Εὔδημος ναύκληρος:** cf. the opening of the other poem on the sarcophagus (above). **φωσφόρον:** an epithet of dawn as early as Eur. *Ion* 1157–8. ὁ φωσφόρος was a name for the morning-star, cf. *GVI* 861.10, LSJ 1b.

4 [383] **κείσετ':** the future seems to indicate 'will lie (for ever)'. **ἀφημέριος:** the only attestation of this word, apparently here meaning 'far from daylight'. ἀφήμερος and ἀφημερεύειν mean '(be) absent for a day', which seems without point here. **ἀκλύδων:** another otherwise unattested adjective; the more common terms are ἀκλυδώνιστος and ἄκλυστος. The proverbial-sounding expression, which echoes the opening verse of the other poem (above) and thus closes a ring around everything written in Eudemos' honour, offers consolation to the dead.

XLV Bernand 26 = *GVI* 1167

An epitaph of (probably) the early third century AD in iambic trimeters from Antinoupolis in the Thebaid for a slave from 'Ethiopia', probably Nubia. The poem was presumably commissioned by the slave's master Pallas (1) and celebrates Pallas' position and achievements as much as the character of the slave, see esp. 1–2, 8, 18–20. The verses (5–13) on the contrast between the slave's dark skin and the 'white flowers' of his soul are often cited in discussions of ancient treatment of racial difference.

The iambics contain very few resolutions; line 2, which contains both a title δεκαδάρχος and a proper name, is unusual in having two resolutions and a fourth-foot anapaest. Porson's Law is observed.

Bibl. Schmidt 1897 (the *editio princeps*), Gigli Piccardi 2003.

1–2 [384–5] The prominence given to Pallas initially suggests that this epitaph is his, an idea corrected in 3; in fact, that prominence simply reflects the hierarchy which the poem reveals. **Πάλλαντος … ἄνδρ' ἐπώνυμον** 'a man named for Pallas' draws attention to the fact that Πάλλας, a name attested elsewhere in Egypt and very sporadically in the Greek world, is also found in mythological poetry, as a Titan in Hesiod (*Theog.* 376, 383) and as the father of Selene at *HHHerm.* 100 (where see Thomas's n.). **εἴ τιν' οἶσθας:** ἀκούεις is much more common in such conditionals, which may be an almost understated way of drawing attention to the κλέος of the individual referred to ('How could you not have heard of such a person?'), cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.362 (with Campbell's n.), 4.1560–1, Call. fr. 64.5 (with Harder 2012: II 519), Philip, *APl.* 25.1 (= *GP* 3066, an epitaph). The form is common in Gregory of Nazianzus, cf. e.g. *AP* 8.116.1, 8.140.1 (both epitaphs). See in general Wakker 1994: 249. **οἶσθας:** this form, instead of οἶσθα, is cited already from Cratinus (fr. 112) and is not uncommon in later comedy, cf. Alexis fr. 15.11, Arnott 1996: 94, K–B II 44. **δεκάδαρχον** 'commander of a unit of ten men', cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.14; this, together with the variants δεκαδάρχης and δεκάταρχος, is a common term in inscriptions, and is also used as the translation of Lat. *decurio.* **ἔργων Ἀντινόοιο προστάτην** 'foreman of the works at Antinoupolis'. This is probably a second honorific designation in asyndeton after δεκάδαρχον, though others take the verse as a single unit, 'the officer foreman …'. προστάτην leaves Pallas' role vague (at least for us), but it is very probable that the 'works' were those of the major stone quarries near the city, see Fitzler 1910: 27–8. References to δεκάταρχοι τῶν λατόμων occur in papyri. **Ἀντινόοιο:** the city is standardly referred to simply as Ἀντινόου, but the poet here uses the

Homeric genitive to aggrandise Pallas' role. -τινόοι- forms a 'fourth-foot anapaest' (i.e. ⏑⏑ – in place of ⏑ –), a licence common in comic trimeters, but avoided in stricter forms; such licences are common in dealing with proper names.

3 [386] δαίμων 'my fate'. The pattern of our lives can be our δαίμων, cf. e.g. *110*, Eur. *Or.* 504, Soph. *OC* 1337, Men. *Dysk.* 281–2. **κατήγαγεν** 'brought me to', quite literally 'down to', as the trip to Antinoupolis from the slave's home was almost certainly 'down river', i.e. from Nubia north down the Nile.

4 [387] Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς 'from the Ethiopian land', a genitive of separation without a preposition, cf. Smyth §1395, *CGCG* 30.34. **φυτοσπόροι**, 'ancestors', is perhaps intended to sound poetic.

5–6 [388–9] activate the standard ancient etymology of Αἰθιοπίς, etc. as 'burnt-face', cf. e.g. *Et. Mag.* s.v. Αἰθιοπία, Beekes 1995/6. **χροιήν:** accusative of respect. **ἐν ζωοῖσιν:** both 'while I was alive' and 'among the living ..', i.e. 'in comparison with my fellow human beings ...'. **μελάντερος** 'rather dark', a familiar nuance of the comparative. Ethiopians are standardly presented as 'blacker' than other dark-skinned races, and Nubians and Ethiopians as more so than Egyptians, who were themselves μέλανες to Greeks, cf. Ach. Tat. 3.9.2, Snowden 1991, Cameron 1995: 234–5, Sens 2011: 33–4. **βολαὶ ... ἡλιωτίδες:** Greek men were expected to have a darker skin than women because they worked outside in the sun (cf. e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 457–9), but in the case of Ethiopians and Indians, who were believed to live as close to the sun as possible, the matter has been taken to extremes.

7 [390] A contrast between dark skin and 'whiteness' of soul is well attested in the second and third centuries AD, see Snowden 1983: 100–4. In the *Alexander Romance* the Queen of Meroe writes to Alexander, 'Do not condemn us for our colour; in our souls we are whiter and brighter than the whitest of your people' (3.18.6 Kroll). In *Song of Songs* a singer pleads (1.6) μὴ βλέψητέ με, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι μεμελανωμένη, ὅτι παρέβλεψέν με ὁ ἥλιος, and in his discussion of the passage Origen notes that the 'blackness' of the soul which comes through laziness and immoral behaviour can be whitened by *industria* and rising up towards the true light (8.125–6 Baehrens); such an 'ethical' use of skin-colour is much more common in Christian than in pagan texts. **λευκοῖς ἄνθεσιν βρύουσ'** is intended to sound poetic (cf. Timotheus, *PMG* 791.208, Quint. Smyrn. 6.344), and may be a specific echo of *Il.* 17.56 (the plant to which the dying Euphorbus is

compared) βρύει ἄνθεϊ λευκῶι; for the death of Euphorbus in the epitaphic tradition see Hunter 2021: 218–20.

8 [391] εὔνοιαν εἷλκε: εὔνοιαν ἕλκειν is a common phrase in late and Byzantine prose, but see already Men. *Sik.* 244. **σαόφρονος:** the Homeric and poetic form is once again encomiastic of Pallas, as well as metrically convenient.

9 [392] Such a para-philosophical sentiment (cf. e.g. Pl. *Charmides* 154d–e) redounds to the credit of both master and slave.

10 [393] continues the syntax of 7–8; the transmitted ΤΟ gives no obvious sense. **κατέστεφεν**, 'crowned', 'garlanded', continues the image of flowers from 7.

11–13 [394–6] The slave apparently compares his 'sun-burned' colour to Dionysus' triumphal trip to India and the East (cf. e.g. Diod. Sic. 4.3.1). If the point is simply that the slave's skin-colour resembled that of the Indians against whom Dionysus fought, then that may be a way of bringing himself within the world of story known to the Greek population of Antinoupolis. The text, however, is much more naturally read as comparing the slave to Dionysus himself, in which case the point might be that even Dionysus, a Greek god, was burned by the sun when he travelled eastwards; for Dionysus' whiteness cf. Eur. *Ba.* 457–9. There would seem little point in the slave being made to align himself, even implicitly, with the αἰνὰ φῦλα βαρβάρων; rather, the Ethiopian slave, who might in other circumstances be held to belong to these barbarian hordes, is set against them because of his 'Greek' soul. Gigli Piccardi 2003 suggests that what is meant is a broader comparison between the black slave's acquisition of Greek culture and Dionysus' victory over the Indians as the bringing of illumination to 'darkened' races. **μαινόλης θεός:** Dionysus. μαινόλης, 'maddened', is claimed to be a title of Dionysus by Cornutus 30 (60.8 Lang) and Philo, *De plantatione* 148.2. **βωμοῖς ἀνήσων** 'to send up [future participle of ἀνίημι] to his altars …'; the verb is unexpected in this context, but the 'missionary' purpose of Dionysus' expedition allows the slave to side with the spread of Greek culture. **αἰνά** 'dread, horrible'. **φῦλα βαρβάρων:** φῦλα with a dependent genitive is common in Homer, cf. e.g. *Od.* 7.206 ἄγρια φῦλα Γιγάντων; here the phrase reflects the Greek notion of the limitless multitudes of the βάρβαροι. **πάροιθεν:** i.e. while I was alive.

14 [397] αὖτε is contrastive, 'however', LSJ II 2. **ἀποκρύψας ἔχω** amounts to 'I keep hidden'.

15 [398] The lengthening of τό before πρίν is a rare prosody typical of the post-classical period, see Page 1951: 22–4. **ἄμπεχεν**, 'clothed', continues the 'philosophical' attitude of 9: the body is simply a garment we wear while alive.

17 [400] Ἐπιτυγχάνοντα, 'Mr Lucky', is a common slave-name throughout the Greek world. **γινώσκοις** may be an imperatival optative (Smyth §1820), 'recognise me as …', or a kind of potential, 'in me you may recognise …'. The transmitted middle optative γινώσκοιο requires the first syllable to be scanned short within a 'split anapaest' (με γινώσ -) in the fourth foot.

18 [401] seems a sentiment more likely from a master about a slave than by a slave about his own condition; it is (unsurprisingly) common for the epitaphs of slaves to praise how they have been treated by their masters, cf. e.g. *AP* 7.179 on a master's εὐνοίη and medical care for a now deceased Persian slave.

19 [402] τούτων: i.e. the pleasures evoked in the previous verse.

XLVI *GVI* 639

A poem of the third or fourth century AD, almost certainly from Athens. The dead man, Ploutarchos, went off to Italy (presumably Rome) in pursuit of a successful career, but death intervened. It is unclear whether he had returned to Athens or whether he died in Rome; in the latter case, which is perhaps more likely (see γάρ in 6), this will have been a poem on a cenotaph. The language has a marked archaising colour (e.g. σαόφρονος, ἤλυθεν, ἑόν) and Homeric reminiscence plays an important role (see 3–4, 5nn.).

1–2 [404–5] πολυμόχθου κύδεος 'renown won by much labour', cf. Aristotle, *PMG* 842.1 Ἀρετὰ πολύμοχθε γένει βροτείωι. **Αὐσονίην:** Rome, with the opportunities it offered for careers in law and bureaucracy, was the destination for very many ambitious young Greeks in the high empire.

3–4 [406–7] πόνοισι πόνους ἀνεμέτρεε, lit. 'he measured out labours by (further) labours', prepares for the evocation of the Homeric Odysseus which follows, as does πολυμόχθου in 1, cf. *Od.* 1.4 πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντωι πάθεν ἄλγεα. **ἀνεμέτρεε:** the uncontracted form is a poeticism. **τηλόθι πάτρης:** a Homeric formula (six examples at verse-end), but here a clear evocation of *Od.* 2.364–6 (Eurycleia to Telemachus) πῆι δ' ἐθέλεις ἰέναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν / μοῦνος ἐὼν ἀγαπητός; ὁ δ' ὤλετο τηλόθι πάτρης / διογενὴς

Ὀδυσεὺς ἀλλογνώτωι ἐνὶ δήμωι. Ploutarchos too was an only child who left his family behind for foreign travel. In his devotion to πόνοι, however, he resembled Odysseus more than Telemachus; Italy had long since been identified as one area visited by Odysseus in his travels. For Odysseus as a model in epitaphic poetry see *226*n. It is unclear whether we are to understand some implied criticism of Ploutarchos: as an only son, he should not have left his family to their own devices to seek his fortune. **πατέρεσσι:** a late, artificial form (cf. Quint. Smyrn. 10.40) to make up for the fact that Homer does not use the dative plural of πατήρ.

5 [408] The structure and sentiment of the verse, following the description of Ploutarchos' πόνοι, imitate *Od.* 1.6 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἑτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἱέμενός περ (followed by γάρ in the next verse). **ἑὸν οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε πόθον:** although 'he did not accomplish his desire' is perfectly normal in English, πόθος, 'satisfaction of desire', 'what one longs for', is much rarer in Greek, cf. Theocr. 2.143, Nonnus, *Dion.* 16.431; the fuller expression is seen, e.g., in Eur. *Ph.* 194–5 πόθου / ἐς τέρψιν ἦλθες. **μάλα περ μενεαίνων:** a Homeric phrase, cf. *Il.* 15.617 (with γάρ in the next verse), *Od.* 5.341.

6 [409] ἀστόργου, 'without affection, lacking heart', is used of death at Leonidas/Theocritus, *AP* 7.662.4 (= *HE* 3413), of Hades at Bernand 32.3, and cf. *GVI* 1078.4 (Hellenistic) of Hades, ἄκριτον ἀστόργου θηρὸς ἔχων κραδίην.

XLVII *IGUR* III 1234 = *GVI* 658

A poem from a Roman sarcophagus of the third or fourth century AD. The inscription runs continuously, but verse-division is marked by the *diple* sign and various other lectional markings (rough breathings, marks of elision) are included, see Garulli 2019: 131–3. As with many Roman epitaphs of this date, there is a significant Homeric colour.

The opening words, '[This is] is the tomb of Igorios …' evoke the old pattern whereby poems suggest a passer-by deciphering the identity of the dead person whose tomb he is looking at, before moving to memories of the deceased. In this case it becomes clear that the 'passer-by' knew the deceased very well, and we learn in 7 that he was the deceased's uncle.

1 [410] Ἰγορίοιο: a Homeric genitive sets the tone. The name Igorios is otherwise unattested, but there seems no reason to emend: Franz proposed Ἰκαρίοιο. **νεοπενθέος:** the adjective appears once in Homer: among the ghosts who gather around Odysseus' pit are νύμφαι τ' ἠΐθεοί τε πολύτλητοί τε γέροντες / παρθενικαί τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι (*Od.* 11.38–9).

Memory of that passage is obviously appropriate to this poem, but the adjective in Homer is difficult and its meaning was disputed in antiquity; the phrase would naturally mean 'with hearts full of fresh sorrow' (cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 8.286), but the situation suggests rather that there is a reference to the fact that these girls died young, i.e. perhaps 'grieved for when young'. At *GVI* 48.3 (Amorgos, first century BC) an eighteen-year old νεοπενθὴς ὤιχετ᾽ ἐς Ἄιδα, where there seems a clear implication of 'mourned for when young', and the same seems to the case for Igorios; cf. also *SGO* 20/29/01. At Nonnus, *Dion.* 37.100 the tomb of young Opheltes, both recently dead and killed when young, is νεοπενθής. The Alexandrian critics athetised all of *Od.* 11.38–43, and Virgil's imitations (*Georg.* 4.475–7, *Aen.* 6.305–8) avoid all the problems which scholars had identified in the Homeric verses. **ὦ τάφος:** nominative for vocative (cf. *545*n.) is perhaps intended to sound 'literary'. **ὅσσην:** the epic form.

2 [411] ἀρετῆς εὐκλεΐην 'glorious report for *aretē*' here takes the place of any physical remains: Igorios' *kleos* escapes the grave. The phrase is intended to sound Homeric, cf. *Od.* 8.402 ἐυκλείη τ᾽ ἀρετή τε.

3–4 [412–13] Anaphora and mannered variation reinforce the speaker's certainty. **ἴδρις τραγικῆς μούσης:** at *GVI* 1645.1 (Ephesos, first century AD) Homer himself is described as μελιγλώσσων ἴδρις ὁ Πιερίδων. Tragedy is perhaps chosen, not just as a major 'serious' genre and because of the 'tragedy' of Igorios' death, but because it is full of rhetorical speeches. **εὔλυρος** and εὐλύρας are in classical literature used exclusively of Apollo (e.g. Sappho fr. 44.33, Eur. *Alc.* 570) and the Muses (Ar. *Frogs* 229). The reference here is more probably to lyric encomia and epinician than to θρῆνοι. **ἐπέων ῥητήρ** might be 'a speaker of words', i.e. an orator of encomia or funerary orations, or a 'speaker of epic verses', i.e. a hexameter poet; the context makes the latter sense clear here, whereas 'orator' is the standard sense of ῥητήρ in funerary inscriptions. The word is another Homeric *hapax*, cf. *Il.* 9.443 (Phoenix about Achilles) μύθων τε ῥητῆρ᾽ ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων, a verse echoed in a Delphic inscription of the first century AD (*SEG* 18.198), and see *212–13*n. **σεῖο:** another choice Homeric form.

5 [414] πραπίδας: accusative of respect. The πραπίδες, glossed as φρένες and διάνοιαι in the scholia, are chosen as the seat of intelligence in Homer; ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι(ν) is a formulaic Homeric verse-end. **χρόας:** another epic form in place of χρῶτ-. Whether the primary reference is to 'skin, flesh' or 'skin colour, complexion', the poetic plural is very hard to parallel; Kaibel proposed χρόα, which would produce hiatus at the bucolic

caesura. **ἰούλους:** another Homeric *hapax*, cf. *Od.* 11.319–20 πρίν σφωϊν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἰούλους / ἀνθῆσαι πυκάσαι τε γένυς εὐανθέϊ λάχνηι, of Otos and Ephialtes, both (like Igorios) 'short-lived', both killed before they reached the ἥβης μέτρον. That passage of the *nekuia* is echoed elsewhere in the epitaphic tradition (e.g. *GVI* 653, 780, 1555); here, Igorios has acquired his 'first beard', but even so he was cut short, cf. *166–7*n.

6 [415] 'Though a lad, of how many things [i.e. skills] were you the master, as though you were a man of years.' The verse is marked by a cluster of epic and poetic forms: ὅσσων, κοῦρος, ἐών, κράτεες. **κράτεες:** unaugmented and uncontracted imperfect. κρατεῖν in the sense 'be master of X', i.e. 'be an expert in X', is (perhaps surprisingly) hard to parallel.

7–8 [416–17] most naturally imply that Igorios was intended to marry his uncle's daughter, but she too died before the wedding. The 'bride of Hades' motif in 8 is very common for the death of young girls; it goes back to the rape of Persephone by Hades, here evoked by ἥρπασε. See *681*n. **τεός:** an epic form. θεῖος, 'uncle', would by this date regularly have been pronounced with an initial fricative th-, but the plosive pronunciation of θ as an aspirated τ took centuries to disappear (Allen 1987: 22–6), and so there may be a poetic jingle in θεῖος τεός.

9–10 [418–19] Whereas παρθενία is what we would expect of a girl dead before marriage, it is unusual to ascribe it also to a young man; men are, however, occasionally called ἄφθορος in funerary inscriptions (e.g. *IEpidamnos* 59 ἄφθορος ἄγαμος, *IGUR* II 1034). For literary instances of male 'virginity' cf. Eur. *Hipp.*, Herodas 1.55 ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς, Ach. Tat. 5.20 (a special case). **ἄρα** perhaps marks a consequence of what precedes (GP^2 42) or has merely an emphasising function. **μοῦνοι** appears to suggest that Igorios and his would-be bride were unique in their chastity, which would be a very improbable claim. 'For you alone', i.e. for each other, would give much better sense, and one might consider μούνοις. **σώσαθ᾽:** another unaugmented aorist.

EPITAPHS FOR WOMEN

XLVIII *SEG* 48.1067

An epitaph of two hexameters in Doric dialect from an altar base of mid-sixth-century BC Thera; in 1 the father's name is accommodated by having a cretic (— ◡ —) rather than a dactyl in the fourth foot, cf. *246*, *706*. A double point after the opening word marks off the dead girl's name

in the inscription. Parthenike died 'early', presumably before marriage; inscribed attestations of such sisterly affection are very rare.

Bibl. Sigalas–Matthaiou 1992–8: 394–7.

1 [420] Παρθενίκας: the name is not attested again before the imperial period (though παρθενικῆς at *CEG* 174.8, fifth-century Sinope, is sometimes read as a proper name); Παρθένιον and Παρθενίς are more common. **Θρασισθένους:** a rare name. **ἦρι** 'early', i.e. 'before her time'. In Homer ἦρι is 'early in the morning', but there is no reason to assume that sense, or 'in spring', here. The aspirate is written on the stone.

2 [421] Δαμόκλει(α): another very rare name, but certainly attested elsewhere. **ποθέσαισα:** Doric form of the feminine aorist participle.

XLIX *CEG* 24 = *GVI* 68

A poem for Phrasikleia, inscribed on a statue-base from (probably) the early part of the second half of the sixth century BC; the poem has become very famous since the discovery in 1972 of the statue itself, very close to where the inscribed statue-base had been found in the Attic countryside. The base also declares that the statue is the work of Aristiōn of Paros (*DNO* I 252–6). Two other preserved epitaphs of a single couplet are also certainly associated with (lost) works of Aristiōn (*CEG* 34, 41). This poem is an early forerunner of the *stoichēdon* style of inscription, see Glossary, Austin 1938: 10–13, Jeffery 1962: 138–9.

Bibl. Daux 1973, Lausberg 1982: 114–15, Svenbro 1988: 8–25, Ecker 1990: 195–202, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 249–50, 281, Steiner 2001: 238, 258–9, Squire 2009: 151–3, González González 2019: 40–5, Brown 2019.

1 [422] The articulation of this verse has caused considerable debate. It seems most natural to place strong punctuation after Φρασικλείας, thus making the first half of the verse an independent announcement of what we are looking at, with something like <τόδ' ἐστί> to be understood, cf. e.g. *CEG* 26 (roughly contemporary) τόδ' Ἀρχίου 'στι σῆμα κἀδελφῆς φίλης κτλ., Wachter 2010: 254–6, Bakker 2016: 199–200. The switch of voice to the first person at the caesura of the hexameter is not problematic. Others understand no or only weak punctuation after the deceased's name, with a running-together of the neuter σῆμα and the feminine κούρη, see e.g. Svenbro 1988: 24–5, 'the *sēma* … shifts

imperceptibly from the neuter to the feminine … thereby anticipating its own "return to life" through the act of reading', Tueller 2008: 160–1. **σῆμα** is the term used in both the other poems associated with the sculptor Aristiōn (*CEG* 34, 41), and is standard for the funerary image or *stēlē* at this period, cf. e.g. *9*, *CEG* 23, 26, 32, *Il.* 7.85–91 (Hector's prophecy). **Φρασικλείας:** a very rarely attested name, though the masculine Φρασικλῆς is familiar in Attica. The second half of her name is picked up, in both meaning and sound, by κεκλήσομαι, see Svenbro 1988: 12–13. **κούρη** 'maiden', 'unmarried woman'; this will be her 'title' for ever, as she died before marriage, see further 2n. In *GVI* 1462.3 (Hellenistic Thessaly) a woman who died giving birth to her first child is described as οὔτε γυνὴ πάμπαν κεκλημένη οὔτε τι κούρη. Others have wanted to see in the poem for Phrasikleia a reference to Persephone, the Κόρη who is the bride of Hades, and/or to κούρη as the 'technical term' for this kind of statue of a female (cf. *CEG* 266, c. 480 BC), i.e. 'I shall forever be called a κούρη-statue'.

2 [423] ἀντὶ γάμου: the idea that death has deprived a young woman of the marriage which was her 'natural' destiny is very common in funerary poetry. In two Attic poems of the fourth century BC, this is expressed as τάφος ἀντὶ γάμου (*CEG* 584.4, 591.12), and cf. *GVI* 1330.6 (late Hellenistic Teos), 1584.5–6 (late Hellenistic Mysia); the Phrasikleia-poet has produced a more encomiastic version of this idea, and one more befitting the grandeur of the statue which accompanies the poem: Phrasikleia's maidenly status, a gift of the gods, will be forever celebrated, not the sadness of her death. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the poet reports that Zeus granted Hestia as a καλὸν γέρας the right to remain a παρθένος for ever (27–9), see Svenbro 1988: 19–20. At *Od.* 20.306–8 Telemachus tells the suitor Ktesippos that it was lucky for him that he did not hit the beggar with the hoof he threw at him, for otherwise Telemachus would have killed him, καί κέ τοι ἀντὶ γάμοιο πατὴρ τάφον ἀμφεπονεῖτο; Telemachus there perhaps mocks Ktesippos with the language of female epitaph. See further Steiner 2001: 11–14, Tsagalis 2008: 201–2. Anyte, *AP* 7.649 (= *HE* 692–5) shows the longevity of the conception of the epitaph for Phrasikleia: instead of preparing her wedding, a mother erects on her daughter's tomb a statue of her, παρθενικὰν μέτρον τε τεὸν καὶ κάλλος ἔχοισαν, 'so that even in death we might address you' (see Sens 2020: 57). **θεῶν** is scanned as a single syllable with synizesis.

L *CEG* 161 = *GVI* 164

An elegiac couplet from Thasos, probably to be dated to the very early fifth century BC. The hexameter suggests the spoken reaction of the

passer-by to the monument inscribed with the name of Learete, which is then placed at the beginning of the pentameter. The rest of the pentameter, with its plural verb, encompasses not just passers-by and Learete's family, but her whole community; the poem thus illustrates the gradual blending of public and private in early epitaphs. The pleasure of the present sight of the memorial gives way to the past moment of her death and finally to a future in which we will never see her again. It is tempting to think that the poem accompanied an image of the dead Learete; this would give point to the opposition between θανούσ[ηι] and [ἔτ]ι ζῶσαν and to the final ἐσοψόμ[εθα]: we *will* see her (i.e. in a stone image), but never again alive.

Bibl. Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 70–1, Peek 1960: 14, Skiadas 1967: 18–20; a drawing of the inscription is reproduced in Jeffery 1990: Plate 58.68.

1 [424] The foregrounding of the monument is best captured in English as 'Fine indeed is the monument which her father …'. **ἦ:** an emphatic expression suggestive of both certainty and surprise; for the former cf. *CEG* 480 (late sixth century) ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόως κτλ.

2 [425] Λεαρέτηι is scanned as a dactyl with synizesis of the first two syllables and correption of the last. The name is not found elsewhere.

LI *CEG* 93 = *GVI* 1961

Two closely related poems for the Athenian Myrrhine, daughter of Callimachus; on the basis of the letter forms, the inscription is dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC (see Tracy 2016: 115–16). With the exception of two instances of Ε for Η in 5 and the confusion in 4, the Ionic alphabet is used throughout; this was officially adopted in Athens in 403, but was in widespread use, particularly in private Athenian texts, well before that (see Threatte 1980: 33–51). Nevertheless, this indication too seems to point towards the end of the century. For other factors affecting the dating see further below. For attempts to connect the Myrrhine of this poem with other known funerary monuments see Clairmont 1979, Rahn 1986.

The six verses are inscribed *stoichēdon* in lines of twelve letters each on a marble *stēlē*, apparently all by the same hand. Three dots arranged in a vertical line, however, separate the sigma of ἐτύμως (4), which begins a new line, from the first letter of πρώτη; the last couplet seems thus marked off in some way, and the sense that it is a self-contained composition

is confirmed by other considerations. Although 6 adds information (ἐκ πάντων κλήρωι, see n. ad loc.) not made explicit in 1–4, the final couplet contains both repetition (πρώτη, Νίκης, ἀμφεπόλευσεν) and variation (νεών ~ ἕδος, ἀπὸ θείας συντυχίας ~ εὐτυχίαι) from 1–4 to the extent that the final couplet may be read as a variation on what has gone before. There is no apparent difference of 'speaking voice' between 1–4 and 5–6, but the asyndeton between 4 and 5 also suggests that 5 marks something of a new start. The inscription together of poems which appear to be verbal variations of each other, rather than merely on the same subject, is familiar from later periods (see Fantuzzi 2010), and was to become a prominent feature of Hellenistic 'literary' epigram (see Tarán 1979), but this appears to be an isolated fifth-century example; the nearest parallel is perhaps *CEG* 548, from the middle of the fourth century. This is another consideration pointing to a date for our poem late in the century. The origin and purpose of this effect here are not clear. In the fourth century, the standard way of separating what we would think of as discrete poems on the same side of a stone is by a space between them (e.g. LVIII, *CEG* 513, 693), but those poems are inscribed verse by verse, not *stoichēdon*. Two or three dots arranged vertically are standard 'interpuncts' in archaic and classical inscriptions, see Threatte 1980: 73–84; they are used, e.g., to separate items in a list, to articulate sentence structure, and to mark off numerals. In verse inscriptions, they are found at the end of each verse (II, *CEG* 66, 268) or after the hexameter of an elegiac couplet (*CEG* 68, 179); there is, however, no apparent parallel for a solitary interpunct at the end of a pentameter within a single poem and, despite the fact that there are many examples where it is difficult to determine why an interpunct has been carved, it is not unreasonable to think that it here indicates a break of some kind between 4 and 5. There is considerable unused space on the *stēlē* below the inscribed verses, and 5–6 give the sense of a completed, if brief, utterance. That one letter should be left on its own at the end of 4 was imposed by the *stoichēdon* manner of inscription, and we should not rule out the possibility that 5–6 were composed and added to the stone a short time after 1–4, when it was realised that the singular honour indicated by ἐκ πάντων κλήρωι had not been included in the original epitaph; see further 6n. The possibility that 1–4 and 5–6 in fact refer to different roles, perhaps separated by many years, that Myrrhine performed during her career (so Lougovaya-Ast 2006: 218) seems much less likely.

The epitaph proclaims (twice) that Myrrhine was the first to serve (ἀμφιπολεύειν) at the temple of Athena Nike (on the Acropolis). Although the verb does not strictly guarantee this (see 2n.), it is hard not to connect this with an inscription (*IG* I^3, 35 = Osborne–Rhodes 2017: n. 137)

which records a decision (apparently) to establish a priestess of Athena Nike 'from all Athenian women' (see 6n., Parker 1996: 126–7, Lambert 2010: 153–6). The date of that inscription and of the decisions to which it refers are hotly debated, as is the history of the temple on the Acropolis itself, but the inscription could in principle be from anywhere between 450 and 425. We do not know whether such a priestess was appointed by lot annually or for a longer tenure (life?), but if the Myrrhine of LI was the first priestess under this new dispensation and her epitaph is placed late in the century, then either she held office for a longish tenure or the first allotment to the priesthood took place some years after the decree establishing it or the memory of the honour done to her some years before was powerful enough to be recalled at her death.

A further factor has been at the centre of much recent discussion. David Lewis suggested (Lewis 1955: 1–7) that the character of Lysistrata in Aristophanes' play of 411 could not fail to evoke the Lysimache who, all but certainly, at that time was the priestess of Athena Polias and thus, in some senses, 'in charge of' the Acropolis, as Lysistrata too is shown in the play; Lysimache is particularly notable for having served as priestess for sixty-four years. If accepted, this might seem to strengthen Papademetriou's previous suggestion that the Myrrhine of the epitaph and the Myrrhine of the *Lysistrata* are one and the same. It has been objected that, although we do not know the age of the Myrrhine of the epitaph at death, on any chronology she cannot have been anything like the young, sexy wife of the comedy, if she is to be connected with *IG* I^3, 35, and that there is nothing about the Myrrhine of the comedy, unlike Lysistrata, to suggest priestly characteristics. Those who accept some link between the two Myrrhines usually date the epitaph after 411 on those grounds, but Aristophanes might have wanted some of his audience to recall the priestly Myrrhine, even if she was already dead. He may have chosen the name, a very common one, not just for its association with Aphrodite (see 4n.), but also as a reminiscence of a well-known Myrrhine with a connection to the setting of the play, but no other explicit link to his comic character; this would be a fleeting layer of humour, appreciated by at least some of the audience, that needed no particular emphasis (but see 6n.). This would also help to explain why Myrrhine's name is kept, but Lysistrata's name only 'approximates to' the living Lysimache. Others (e.g. Henderson 1987: xl–xli) reject any connection between the Myrrhine of the epitaph and *Lysistrata.*

Bibl. Papademetriou 1948/9 (*editio princeps*, with photo), Kakridis 1952/3, Lewis 1955: 1–7, Clairmont 1979, Rahn 1986, Lougovaya-Ast 2006, Connelly 2007: 227–9 (with photo), Bowie 2010: 374, Osborne–Rhodes

2017: 470–5, Thonemann 2020: 133–4, www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/1330.

1 [426] There is a breach of Naeke's Law, see *88–9*n. The printed supplement is very likely, but not certain; other possibilities include δέδορκας, cf. *EG* 97a, also for a priestly figure, μνῆμα τόδ' ὑψιφανὲς … δέδορκας κτλ. (Eleusis, late second century AD). The reason for the stonecutter's omission is unclear. **Καλλιμάχου:** a very common name. This was the name of the archon of 446/5, but there is no reason to associate the two, though Myrrhine's father, here given prominence, is likely to have been a well-known member of the elite. **τηλαυγές:** lit. 'gleaming afar', hence 'seen afar', cf. *SGO* 12/01/01, the wise maxims inscribed τηλαυγῆ in third-century Bactria, Robert 1989: 518. The word is poetic (e.g. Theognis 550, Soph. *Tr.* 524), and the idea goes back to Agamemnon's description of Achilles' tomb at *Od.* 24.80–4 (83 τηλεφανής), and cf. also *Il.* 7.87–91 (Hector's prophecy of the tomb for whomever he kills in the duel, see Introduction, p. 6).

2 [427] ἀμφεπόλευσε νεών 'served at the shrine'; *νεών* is the accusative of *νεώς*, the Attic form of *ναός*. The verb might cover a range of activities and levels of responsibility (cf. Hdt. 2.56.2), including full priesthood, see Lougovaya-Ast 2006: 213–14.

3–4 [428–9] εὐλογίαι … συνέμπορον 'she had a name which travelled with her good repute'. A slightly strained way of saying that her name 'matched' her fame. The metaphor in συνέμπορον should not be diluted away: as Myrrhine's fame spreads so does her name, cf. Theognis 245–8 on Kyrnos. Other than this inscription, συνέμπορος and ξυνέμπορος are restricted in the fifth century to tragedy and Ar. *Frogs* 396 (lyric). **ἀπὸ θείας … συντυχίας:** hindsight reveals that the divine must have had a hand in Myrrhine's naming, see further 6n. **Μυρρίνη ἐκλήθη:** the confusion on the stone might be a simple transposition of letters, or perhaps the stonecutter was somewhat unsure (see 5) when to use the Attic E and when the Ionic H for the long vowel, see above, p. 172. Μυρρίνη is 'Lady of myrtle', and the name was well chosen, presumably, as twigs of myrtle and myrtle garlands were carried and worn in various cultic and religious contexts, including by priests, see *RE* 16.1180–1, Blech 1982: 284–5, Index s.v. Myrte. Aphrodite, rather than Athena, was the goddess most closely associated with myrtle, and there was perhaps a significance either in the name or for this particular Myrrhine which we can no longer recover. **ἐτύμως**, 'with full truth', points to the significance of the name's etymology, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 681–2 (on the significance of ἑλ- in

Helen's name), τίς ποτ᾽ ὠνόμαζεν ὧδ᾽ / ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως, with the nn. of Fraenkel and Medda, Eur. *Phoen.* 636 ἀληθῶς δ᾽ ὄνομα Πολυνείκη πατὴρ / ἔθετό σοι κτλ.

5 [430] ἕδος is here probably a synonym of νεών, used for variety and metrical convenience, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 404, Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 290–1. The word may also mean 'image (of a god)', lit. 'seated image', cf. e.g. *CEG* 488, and is found paired with νεώς as though referring to different things (e.g. Soph. *El.* 1374, Isocr. *Panegyr.* 155, Lyc. *Leocr.* 143), but it is unclear how 'serving the statue' would differ from 'serving the temple'. One source reports that the statue of Athena Nike held a pomegranate in her right hand and a helmet in her left (Lycurgus fr. 13 Conomis = *FGrHist* 373 F2).

6 [431] It is easy to understand a participle such as αἱρεθεῖσα with ἐκ πάντων κλήρωι. **ἐκ πάντων:** the masculine, rather than ἐκ πασῶν, is surprising. The inscription recording the establishment of the priestess (*IG* I^3, 35 = Osborne–Rhodes 2017: n. 137) has, at the relevant place, [13 letters]ι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπα[, and the arrangement of the inscription makes it all but certain that this should be supplemented as ἁπα[σῶν rather than ἁπά[ντων; our epigram has been used to restore a reference to the lot in this gap in *IG* I^3, 35 ([κληρομένη λάχε]ι Meritt and Wade–Gery), and conversely we might suspect that 6 alludes back to the wording of *IG* I^3, 35. Masculines are sometimes used for feminines in generalising and other descriptions (K–G I 82–3, Barrett 1964: 366–9), but that does not seem to fit this case, nor does it seem likely that we are to understand 'from <the daughters of> all Athenians'. ἐκ πάντων may perhaps have been chosen as more encomiastic than ἐκ πασῶν, or the poet may simply have used the much more familiar form; ἐκ πάντων is very common in inscriptions regarding the choice of priests, ambassadors, etc., whether on its own or with a noun such as πολιτῶν. That Myrrhine's office was not connected to *IG* I^3, 35 and was one open to both men and women (hence πάντων) seems very unlikely. **κλήρωι:** the comic Myrrhine is involved in by-play about the drawing of lots at Ar. *Lys.* 207–8 (speaker attribution is disputed), and Connelly 2007: 63 (see also Thonemann 2020: 134) suggests that there may be an allusion there to the Myrrhine of the epigram. **εὐτυχίαι:** the allotment was 'lucky' for both Myrrhine and the city. The echo and variation of ἀπὸ θείας … συντυχίας points to the fact that the 'luck' involved in the lot did not rule out a role for the divine in such processes, cf. Pl. *Laws* 6.759b8–c1: one should leave the choice of priests to the lot, for then the choice will be made θείαι τύχηι and the god will arrange whatever choice is pleasing to him.

LII *CEG* 97 = *GVI* 1415

An Athenian epitaph of the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BC. As a poem in which one woman remembers a now dead female friend, it seems to foreshadow Erinna's famous poem for Baucis, the 'Distaff' (*SH* 400–1, fourth century BC); two funerary epigrams for Baucis, in one of which Erinna is named as the poet, were also attributed to Erinna in antiquity (*AP* 7.710, 712 = *HE* 1781–96). That Euthulla writes of herself in the third person, while addressing her friend in the second, lends the poem a quiet dignity and reserve, far removed from emotional lamentation. Neither Euthulla (three examples in *LGPN* II) nor Biote (ten examples in *LGPN* II) are very common names; a Euthulla, probably 'wife of Leukonoeus', attested on a very broken inscription from the Athenian agora (Bradeen 1974: no. 215), may or may not be the same as the woman of this poem. Nothing can be said of either woman's status, and ἑταίρα here seems to mean 'friend, companion', rather than 'courtesan, hetaira' (as Calame 1996: 128 suggests); Poland 1897: 362 suggested that Biote might have been a foreigner 'living in Athens without her family' or a slave, and that was the reason an epitaph was erected by a friend, not by a member of her family.

Bibl. Schirripa 2010: 170–1, González González 2019: 78–86.

3 [434] The inscribed *stēlē* is a visible marker of Euthulla's sad memories of her dead friend; γάρ shows that μνήμη is bound to the μνῆμα described in 2, see LIII introductory n. **δακρυτόν** 'accompanied by much weeping', cf. *SEG* 15.548 (Amorgos, fifth century BC) μνημόσυνον Βίττης, μητρὶ δακρυτὸν ἄχος, *GVI* 1174 (Miletos, c. 300 BC) δακρυτὸν μητρὶ λιπόντα πόθον.

4 [435] ἡλικίας τῆς σῆς ... ἀποφθιμένης 'for your destroyed youth', i.e. 'for your death at a young age'; for this use of ἡλικία see Rossi 2001: 189–90. The genitive is a common kind of genitive of cause (Smyth §1405, *CGCG* 30.30).

LIII *CEG* 167 = *GVI* 97

A late fifth or early fourth century BC epitaph from Chios. The two couplets are partly set off against each other as the 'public' σῆμα (1–2) and the 'private' μνῆμα, 'place of memory', for the dead woman's husband (3–4). For the relation between the two terms see Svenbro 1988: Index s.vv., Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: Index s.vv.

Bibl. Friedländer–Hoffleit 1948: 128–9, González González 2019: 93–4.

1–2 [436–7] Intertwined word order marks a poeticisation of conventional elements. **ἐσλῆς:** such forms, rather than ἐσθλῆς, are widespread in various dialects, although Ionic normally retains the θ. **ὁδὸν πάρα τήνδε:** the accent of a disyllabic preposition falls on the first syllable when it follows its noun ('anastrophe'), see *80–1*n. Tombs were conventionally placed set back alongside roads leading out of town all over the Greek world, and it is common for this to be stated, cf. *CEG* 16, 74, 142, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 179. Here the simple ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ is expanded by τήνδε and λεωφόρον to call attention to its significance, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 835–6 ὀρθὴν παρ' οἶμον, ἣ 'πὶ Λάρισαν φέρει, / τύμβον κατόψηι ξεστὸν ἐκ προαστίου. **λεωφόρον:** scanned as a dactyl with synizesis of λεω-. The word appears once in Homer, *Il.* 15.682 λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν, in a passage which stresses the number of people who would be on such a road. Aspasia's tomb, it is implied, is visible and significant. Cf. also [Eur.] *Rh.* 880–1 νεκροὺς / θάπτειν κελεύθου λεωφόρου πρὸς ἐκτροπάς (with Fantuzzi 2020: 583). **καταφθιμένης:** for the spelling -πθ- on the stone cf. *CEG* 344.2 (sixth century) κλέϝος ἄπθιτον, Buck 1955: 59.

3–4 [438–9] ὀργῆς 'disposition'. This will have been known to Euopides, as it was not known by anyone passing on the busy road. **Εὐωπίδης:** a very rare name. The penultimate syllable should be short, but that would make the nominative impossible in dactylic verse; the long scansion here is for metrical convenience, see *204*, *238*nn. **τόδε** is scanned as two short syllables, despite the following μνῆμα, cf. *CEG* 139.1, West 1982: 18. **τοῦ:** relative pronoun, as in Homer. **παράκοιτις** echoes ὁδὸν πάρα τήνδε (1) to mark the shift from a public view of Aspasia to Euopides' more private memories. **ἔην:** Homeric and Ionic third person singular imperfect.

LIV *CEG* 680 = *GVI* 1912

Two quatrains for Arata from Hesperis (or Euesperides, see 5n.) on the coast of what is now Libya; the *stēlē* was found at Ptolemais (between Arata's home city and Cyrene), and Arata had presumably moved there on her marriage and died there. An inscription above the poem names her husband (less probably father) as Kallikrates. The lettering does not permit a dating more precise than to the fourth or early third century BC (see Kraeling 1962: 8 n.38, 109). Ptolemais was, as the name makes clear, a Ptolemaic foundation; Pseudo-Scylax 108.3 (fourth century BC) refers to it simply as 'the harbour for Barka (an inland town)', and we know very little about what was there before Ptolemaic times.

The first quatrain is addressed to Charon, the ferryman of the Underworld, and the second to Arata herself. The two quatrains are separated on the *stēlē* by a large blank space (photo in Oliviero 1936: figs. 102, 102a). As often, the two poems offer different perspectives on the same death.

Bibl. Meyer 2005: 82, Fantuzzi 2010: 305.

1–2 [440–1] A prayer-style address to Charon, who, as νεκύων πορθμεύς (Eur. *Alc.* 253), conveys the dead across a lake or river to the Underworld. Charon appears in iconography from the late sixth or early fifth century, and on very many Athenian funerary white-ground *lēkythoi* from later in the fifth century. His earliest literary appearance is in a fragment (1 Bernabé) of the epic *Minyas* (early fifth century?), where he is already ὁ γεραιὸς / πορθμεύς, and he first appears in inscribed funerary poetry also c. 500 (*CEG* 127). Other than his famous appearance in Ar. *Frogs* (180–208), descriptions of him are prominent in Eur. *Alc.* (252–9, 439–44, cf. 3–4n.), thus giving another link between that play and the epitaphic tradition (see Introduction, pp. 29–30). The most famous and influential later description of Charon is Virgil, *Aen.* 6.298–304, and cf. also Hermesianax fr. 7.4–6 Powell. On the history and role of the figure of Charon see *LIMC* Charon I, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: chap. 5, Garland 2001: 55–6.

Leonidas, *AP* 7.67 (= *HE* 2331–8) is an address to Charon by the Cynic Diogenes which begins with a very similar (if less complimentary) couplet: Ἀΐδεω λυπηρὲ διήκονε, τοῦτ᾽ Ἀχέροντος / ὕδωρ ὃς πλώεις πορθμίδι κυανέηι. **πορθμίδος εὐσέλμου μεδέων**, 'controller of the well-benched ferry', is a high prayer-style address; Charon is never named. μεδέων is commonly used of a god with the dependent genitive referring to places he/she controls, cf. *Il.* 16.233–4 Ζεῦ ἄνα … / Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου, LSJ μεδέων. **πορθμίδος**, 'ferry-boat', is a standard description of Charon's vessel, cf. *521*, Antiphanes fr. 86.4 τὸ πορθμεῖον; at *SEG* 63.1236.B4 a woman's suicide is described as ἐπήβη κοινῆς πορθμίδος αὐτόμολος. **εὐσέλμου:** a Homeric epithet of ships. σέλματα may be the planks which form the deck or the rowing-benches; here the meaning may be little more than 'sturdy'. **γέρον:** Charon is almost always an 'old man', cf. Eur. *Alc.* 440, Ar. *Frogs* 139, Virg. *Aen.* 6.304 *iam senior, sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus.* **ὃς διὰ πάν[τα] … ποταμοῦ:** such a relative clause, following an address to a god, is very common, cf. *Il.* 1.37 κλῦθί μοι, Ἀργυρότοξ᾽, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας, Norden 1913: 168–76. πάντα probably goes with πείρατα, 'across all the furthest reaches of the river', rather than an adverbial διὰ πάντα 'constantly'. The π-alliteration heightens the poetic quality

of the address to the god. De Sanctis suggested ἃς δία πάνται, 'through which (i.e. the ferry) everywhere …'. **σκιερᾶς** here evokes the shades (σκιαί) of the dead which fill Charon's boat and the banks of the river, and see *103*n.

3–4 [442–3] Verse 3 contains remarkable sound-play, following the alliteration in 2; despite the difference in length of the initial vowel, Ἀράτα is linked by sound to ἀρετή, as though her name reflected her virtue. There is further play on her name in the final verse, Ἀράτα … ἀράν. The meaning of the verses is uncertain ('sensus satis obscurus', Hansen). The question to Charon is usually understood as 'Did you see some virtue different from [i.e. 'equal to' or 'greater than'] (that of) Arata …?'. This is at least very awkward, and we might have expected a future tense 'Will you see another virtue (like that) of Arata …?'. The implication of the past tense seems rather to be that the only inference to be drawn from Arata's death is that Charon has seen another (and better) 'virtue'. It might be worth considering ἄλλας (the error would be very easy): 'Did you see the virtue of another Arata, if you took this one …?'. εἴγε probably does not suggest doubt about the traditional story, merely the necessary precondition of the preceding question. Ebert suggested taking ἀρετάν as an accusative of respect, and Fantuzzi 2010: 305 n.46 translates, 'did you ever see a person more virtuous than Arata, the time when you ferried her …?'; this makes good sense, but it is hard to get from the text. With any interpretation, however, the verses are close enough to Eur. *Alc.* 442–4 (Charon must know) πολὺ δὴ πολὺ δὴ γυναῖκ' ἀρίσταν / λίμναν Ἀχεροντίαν πορευ-/σας ἐλάται δικώπωι, to suggest that the Euripidean passage may have been a model for them. **Ἀράτας:** the name, most familiar from the Homeric Ἀρήτη, was understood as 'prayed/hoped for' (< ἀράομαι), cf. e.g. Schol. *Od.* 7.54 and see 8n. *LGPN* I gives ten examples of Ἀράτα from Cyrenaica, a far greater concentration than known from anywhere else. **ὑπό** denotes 'down to and below'. **λυγαίαν**, 'gloomy, murky', a poetic adjective first found in tragedy, cf. *177*n. **ἄγαγες**, 'conveyed', does not quite make Charon a ψυχοπομπός for the dead as Hermes is (*353–4*n.), though there is an important element of that in how he is imagined, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: chap. 5. **ἀϊόνα**, the Doric form of ἠϊόνα, here probably denotes the far bank of the river, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1158, LSJ.

5 [444] οὐκέτι: the motif (cf. *552*n.) is particularly common at the start of poems or new sections, as here, cf. e.g. Antipater Sid., *AP* 7.8.1–3 (= *HE* 228–30) on Orpheus, οὐκέτι … οὐκέτι … οὐκέτι. **ἁβρόπαιδα:** the only extant occurrence of this epithet. The meaning is perhaps 'of lovely/graceful daughters', rather than 'of lovely/graceful children', cf. *597*, Garulli

2016: 326; the rare epithet signals the poet's ambition, but we do not know whether it points to some particular aspect of life in Euesperides. **πάτραν σὰν Ἑσπερ[ίδ']:** Hdt. 4.204 refers to the town as Εὐεσπερίδες and Pseudo-Scylax 108–9 (fourth century BC) as Ἑσπερίδες; late sources attest the use of the singular Ἑσπερίς (cf. e.g. Steph. Byz. ε 141, 154 Billerbeck). Call. *Epigr.* 37.6 (= *HE* 1134) refers to the inhabitants as Ἑσπερῖται. Arata's home is both Ἑσπερίς and lies 'to the west' of where she is buried.

6–7 [445–6] The text should be regarded as uncertain. Peek's ἐστέρισας cannot be confirmed from the photograph, although the third letter does look more like Τ than the Π read in the *editio princeps*. The meaning, 'nor [will you see] your husband whom you deprived (of yourself)', is at least awkward, though hardly impossible. τὸν ἔστεργες, 'whom you loved', would be welcome, but may be too short for the space and the possibility of Γ rather than Ι cannot be confirmed from the photograph. **τόν** is the relative pronoun, as in Homer; this is another touch of high style. **τέκνωι** probably refers to a son, as the 'bridal bed' would be laid in the groom's house, cf. Eur. *Med.* 1026–7, Medea's lament to her sons that she will not be able 'to adorn the baths and your wives and the marriage-beds' for them. The adornment of the bridal bed was a recognised part of nuptial ritual, but we know very little in detail about it, cf. Ar. *Peace* 844, Call. fr. 75.16, Moschus, *Europa* 164, Oakley–Sinos 1993: 35, Vérilhac–Vial 1998: 325. **τεῶι:** the epic and Doric form varies σός in the preceding verses; such variation is itself a poetic trait (in imitation of the observed variety within Homeric language). **ἦ μάλα:** a very common Homeric form of emphasis and intensification.

8 [447] κρυερὰν ... ἀράν is normally understood as 'a chilling curse', but Hes. *Theog.* 657 has ἀρῆς ... κρυεροῖο 'chilling destruction'; ἀρή, 'destruction', with short alpha, is a different word from ἀρά / ἀρή, 'prayer, curse', where the alpha is long in early epic and short in tragedy (see Beekes s.vv., West on Hes. *Theog.* 657). The play between Ἀράτα and ἀρά may seem to confirm the 'curse' interpretation (see 3–4n.), but the poet may well have Doricised and adapted the Hesiodic phrase. ἔδειξεν seems equally possible (and equally unusual) with both. **κρυεράν:** the adjective is often associated with death (see *649*n.), and Homer uses it of lamentation (cf. e.g. *Il.* 24.524, *Od.* 4.103).

LV *CEG* 573 = *GVI* 1810

A poem from Athens from the middle of the fourth century BC for Dionysia; there is no indication of the cause of her death, but as she was

young (3), married and there is no mention of children, she may have died in her first pregnancy.

Each couplet is carved in a single line, without punctuation between hexameter and pentameter, on the narrow architrave of a funerary monument, on which a woman, whose head is still visible, and presumably other figures were depicted. The first couplet, a kind of mini-priamel, speaks of Dionysia in the third person, the second couplet in the second person; such shifts are not uncommon in funerary poetry. Repetition of word (πόσις) and theme (κόσμος) bind the couplets together, and the second couplet confirms for the reader that the husband's voice is also dominant in the first; it is the husband, more than anyone, who knows about Dionysia's character.

Bibl. Clairmont 1970: 87–8, with Plate 10.20, Tsagalis 2008: 284–5, González González 2019: 67–8.

1 [448] That women might be particularly interested in 'robes' and 'gold' (i.e. golden jewellery) was a familiar idea. These are precisely the gifts which Medea sends to her husband's new bride in Eur. *Medea*, and in which the young woman takes such delight (786, 961–2, 1156–66); collectively those gifts are κόσμος (787, 1156), 'adornment', the same idea as used in 4 here. Robes and golden jewellery are high-status items, appropriate to the social elite; the nature of Dionysia's tomb suggests that she and her husband were indeed relatively well off, but we need not assume that Dionysia could have all the κόσμος she desired. **ἐθαύμασεν** has a negative resonance, perhaps 'gape after'.

2 [449] σωφροσύ[νην τ' ἐφίλει is a very attractive supplement, and would give particular point to the husband's name, all but certainly Ἀντίφιλος, cf. *453*n. A second verb is needed, as ἐθαύμασεν is not the right term to describe Dionysia's devotion to her husband and to σωφροσύνη.

3–4 [450–1] are not intended to imply that, were Dionysia still alive, her husband would be adorning her with fine clothes and jewellery; rather, there is a slightly awkward play with two uses of κοσμεῖν. **ἀντί** 'in return for' (LSJ III 3), rather than 'instead of'. **ἥβης … ἡλικίας:** virtual synonyms. **Διονυσία:** a common Athenian name. The final syllable is shortened ('correption') before the following long vowel. **κοσμεῖ** implies that the husband is responsible for the splendid monument. 'Being adorned' (in various senses) is what the honourable dead deserve, cf. Thucyd. 2.46.1 (the end of the 'Funeral Speech'). There seems to be an implication that Dionysia was not buried in very expensive finery

(cf. Eur. *Alc.* 149, the κόσμος ready for the corpse, 161, 613, 618, 631), as this would not have suited her; rather, the husband 'adorns' her tomb. **Ἀντίφ[ιλος]:** a very common name, which seems all but certain here; Ἀντιφάτης would also be possible.

LVI *CEG* 530 = *GVI* 1387

An Athenian poem of the middle of the fourth century BC for Melite, wife of Onesimos. The metrical form is very unusual: 1 is a dactylic hexameter, 2 is certainly dactylic though its exact nature is debated (see 2 n.), and 3–4 are catalectic trochaic tetrameters; this last metre is very rare in inscribed epigram, but cf. *CEG* 707 (Cos, probably early Hellenistic), 861 (Knidos, probably fourth century BC: four tetrameters following two iambic trimeters), Introduction, p. 3. A perceived difference in quality led Wilamowitz 1924a: 126 n.1 to suggest that different poets composed 1–2 and 3–4, or that Onesimos took over 3–4 from an earlier poem; 3, however, follows on from 2 (τοιγαροῦν), which suggests an original conception embracing both. The poem is inscribed on a *stēlē* above an image, of a very common type, of a bearded standing man shaking hands with a seated woman, presumably representing the deceased. The text fills the face of the *stēlē*, with two instances of individual words broken across two lines (χρηστ|ή, Ὀνήσιμ|ον). The stonecutter has, however, left a clear space at the end of each metrical verse, apparently to facilitate reading (cf. *CEG* 468).

The poem is a dialogue in which Melite speaks from the tomb in the final verse, but it displays a remarkable complexity of voice. The speaker of 1–3 is usually understood to reveal himself finally as the husband Onesimos, though that is far from certain. Line 1, which it is hard to imagine spoken by Onesimos, seems to be spoken by the 'passer-by', as he reads an inscription on Melite's tomb; 2–3 are addressed not to the tomb, but to Melite herself, but presumably by the same 'passer-by', who is now revealed to have some knowledge of the married couple; Onesimos' feelings are described in the third person, and it is certainly not natural to imagine these verses spoken by Onesimos himself. The principal reason in fact, beyond the standard image represented on the *stēlē*, for giving Onesimos a speaking role is Melite's address φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν in 4; this would, of course, be an appropriate address from wife to husband (e.g. Eur. *Her.* 531, Ar. *Pl.* 788), but it is also used man to man, and by women to men who are not their husbands (Aesch. *Sept.* 677, Soph. *Trach.* 232). It seems most likely, in fact, that in 4 Melite addresses the nameless passer-by, calls him φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν in gratitude for what he has said about her and Onesimos' feelings for her, and asks him τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλει. This is

normally taken to mean (addressed to Onesimos) 'love my <children>', but the natural noun to supply is φίλους: the passer-by is being asked to 'love/look after' all Melite's φίλοι, presumably including Onesimos and any children.

Bibl. Clairmont 1970: 117–19 and Pl. 19, Walsh 1991: 86–7, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 310, Meyer 2005: 86, Vestrheim 2010: 72, González González 2019: 94–8.

1 [452] Very standard language suggests the reading of a grave inscription; χρηστή is a very common epithet for a dead woman (*CEG* 491, 526, 571, etc.), and a large number of Attic inscriptions merely have the dead woman's name followed by χρηστή or χρηστὴ χαῖρε; χρηστή was, however, not added to a woman's name in non-verse epitaphs if she was of full Athenian status, see Diggle 2004: 330–1. ἐνθάδε κεῖται is also a very common epitaphic phrase. The effect is to suggest that the passer-by reads a simple inscription such as Μελίτη χρηστή before, in 2–3, falling into musings prompted by his special knowledge. For a literary version of this structure cf. Callimachus, *Epigr.* 15 (= *HE* 1227–30). **τάφος:** nominative for vocative, see *545*n. **Μελίτης:** a not uncommon name. Despite the repeated χρηστή (see above), it is not to be assumed (*pace* Pircher 1979: 39) that Melite and Onesimos were slaves or ex-slaves, though both names are also known as slave-names.

2 [453] As transmitted this verse is a dactylic hexameter preceded by ⏑— (assuming that the final syllable of φιλοῦντα is elided). Hansen suggested that ΦΙΛΟΥΝΤΑ was added after the composition of the hexameter, perhaps at the insistence of the husband, so that his feelings would be completely clear; *CEG* 900 is perhaps an example of such an unmetrical addition. There is no suggestion from the setting out on the stone, however, that φιλοῦντα is not an integral part of v. 2. The ideal of mutual marital affection goes back to Odysseus and Penelope in the *Odyssey* and texts such as Semonides 7.83–93 ('the bee woman', φίλη … σὺν φιλέοντι γηράσκει πόσει); González González 2019: 96 suggests in fact that the epitaph for Μελίτη evokes Semonides' μελίσση-wife. Nevertheless, ἀντιφιλεῖν does not otherwise appear before fourth-century prose (Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.28, *Symp.* 8.16, Pl. *Lysis* 212b6, c1, Arist. *EN* 1156a8, etc.), and in every fourth-century occurrence φιλεῖν is almost always also explicitly present, or, if not, clearly implied by the context; cf. also Xen. *Symp.* 8.3 (Socrates teasing) ὁ Νικήρατος … ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντερᾶται. It is therefore very unlikely that the poet of LVI used ἀντιφιλοῦσα without also explicitly using φιλοῦντα of Onesimos' feelings. Kaibel suggested that the inscription has omitted

parts of the original epigram, which would have given a proper metrical context for φιλοῦντα. If, however, the text is essentially complete, the poet's versification seems to have fallen down in this verse, as he seeks to find room for all the necessary information. One alternative possibility, however, is that the poet wrote a dactylic verse of unusual length: *CEG* 80.1 and 492.2 are dactylic heptameters and 571.6 might be read as a dactylic octameter. The text we have would be a dactylic heptameter if the poet treated the initial syllable of φιλοῦντα as long, thinking – perhaps mindful of Homeric verses which begin φίλε – that this was an artful variation on the regular prosody later in the same verse (see Hopkinson 1982), or, perhaps more likely, if he had written ἀντιφιλοῦσα φιλοῦντα, and the words had been transposed at the time of engraving, better to suit the available space and with the happy result that φιλοῦντα sits immediately above Ὀνήσιμ|ον on the stone. Tsagalis 2008: 301 strangely suggests that the position of φιλοῦντα allows us to 'skip it metrically'. **ἀντιφιλοῦσα:** see above. It is perhaps surprising that this term appears nowhere else in the inscriptional tradition; whether Onesimos and/or his poet were familiar with the use of the term in philosophical and moralising writing can only be guessed. It is, however, possible that LV plays with a wife's love (φιλεῖν) for her devoted husband named Ἀντίφιλος, see *449*n. In a couple of later inscriptions (*GVI* 807, 1158) repeated στέργειν marks the mutuality of husband and wife, though ἀντιστέργειν is not attested. **Ὀνήσιμον:** 'Mr Beneficial', 'Mr Useful' corresponds to Melite's χρηστότης. The name was a very common one in Athens. **κρατίστη** 'the best', 'unsurpassable'.

3 [454] τοιγαροῦν: this is the only example of this compound particle in a verse inscription (there are four examples of τοιγάρτοι), though it is a regular formation in both prose and literary verse.

4 [455] φίλτατ' … φίλει is a new twist to the reciprocity which has dominated the poem. Walsh 1991: 86 understands φίλει as 'kiss' (my children), but however τοὺς ἐμούς is to be understood, 'love/cherish' seems far more likely.

LVII *CEG* 587 = *GVI* 1820

An Athenian poem of the middle of the fourth century BC for Plangon, who apparently died shortly before her wedding; a superscription to the epitaph identifies Plangon's father as Promachos and either him or her as 'Lacedaimonian'.

Bibl. Tsagalis 2008: 202, González González 2013, 2019: 71–2.

1 [456] γάμων πρόπολος: πρόπολος is a standard term for the servant or priest of a god (cf. *CEG* 566.1, LSJ), but here it describes Hymenaios as 'he who arranges/assists at weddings'. **Πλαγγών:** lit. 'Doll', a common name, both for citizen women and hetairai (*LGPN* II, Hunter 1983: 178–9). **Ὑμέναιος:** the personification of the wedding-hymn, with its refrain Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ἄναξ (Eur. *Tr.* 314, 331, Ar. *Peace* 1332–56, etc.). The replacement of the wedding-hymn by tears and lamentation is a common motif in the epitaphs of both boys and girls who die young, cf. e.g. *SGO* 05/01/31, *GVI* 1243. For the personified Hymenaios cf. *CEG* 538 (Attica, fourth century BC); in Erinna, *AP* 7.712 (= *HE* 1789–96), Hymenaios is asked to change the wedding-hymn to a lament. **ἐν οἴκοις** more likely refers to ceremonies in the bride's house before the wedding procession (Oakley–Sinos 1993: 26–34) than to events after she has reached her new home, see further Tsagalis 2008: 202.

2 [457] ὤλβισεν: ὄλβιος, like μάκαρ (Eur. *Tr.* 311–12, Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 240), is a standard term of praise for a bride or groom, cf. Sappho fr. 112, Theocr. 18.16. During the wedding and the procession, the hymn would have 'called [Plangon] blessed', cf. Eur. *Alc.* 919–20 (Admetus remembers the procession ὀλβίζων Alcestis and himself), *Andr.* 1218. **ἐδάκρυσ' ἐκτὸς ἀποφθιμένην** 'wept for you outside [i.e. at the funeral] after your death'. For elision at the caesura of the pentameter cf. e.g. Archilochus fr. 14.2.

3 [458] καταλείβεται: lit. 'is poured out (in tears)', cf. *SEG* 60.244 (Peiraeus, first half of fourth century BC) ...] καταλείβεται ὕδωρ ὣς κἀγὼ δακρύοις λείβομαι. It is likely that the famous description of Penelope 'melting' (τήκεσθαι) like snow as she weeps at *Od.* 19.204–9 lies in the background of this and similar literary images; at Eur. *Andr.* 116 Andromache laments (the last verse of the elegiacs) τάκομαι ὡς πετρίνα πιδακόεσσα λιβάς and at 532–4 she cries λείβομαι δάκρυσιν κόρας, / στάζω λισσάδος ὡς πέτρας / λιβὰς ἀνάλιος, ἁ τάλαινα, cf. also Anyte, *AP* 7.646.2 (= *HE* 689). In such descriptions of mourning women, the figure of Niobe is never far away, cf. *Il.* 24.602–17, Soph. *Ant.* 823–32; for a mourning mother as Niobe in epigram cf. LXXIII with Szempruch 2019. For καταλείβεσθαι of tears cf. Eur. *Tr.* 605; δάκρυα λείβων is a standard Homeric verse-end. Euripides elsewhere uses the compound verb of the 'wasting' of a female body from grief (*Suppl.* 1119) or hard work (*Andr.* 131–2), and González González 2013 argues for the influence of the tragedian on this epigram.

4 [459] λείπουσι: an aural echo of -λείβεται emphasises the unendingness of the mother's tears. **πενθίδιοι:** an otherwise unattested, but metrically useful, alternative to πένθιμοι or πενθικοί. **στεναχαί** and

στοναχαί are both attested, cf. e.g. *GVI* 1913.6 (Athens, third century BC), 633.8 (Rheneia, second century BC), as are στεναχίζειν and στοναχίζειν; Zenodotus and Aristophanes of Byzantium adopted the στεν- forms in their texts of Homer (Pontani on Schol. *Od.* 5.83a).

LVIII *CEG* 526 = *GVI* 1985

A pair of poems from the Piraeus for a mother who died of grief; they probably date from the mid fourth century BC. The poems are separated on the *stēlē* by empty space. The first is in the voice of 'the poet' or the tomb itself, the second is a reflection on Xenokleia's fate, which may be imagined to be spoken either by a 'passer-by' or by the poet or by anyone who knows of her fate; the difference between the poems may, very loosely, be characterised as a difference between the 'objective' and the 'subjective'. The shared elements and language, however, are, in this case, such that a special effect may be sought; the lower poem is not just a 'remix' of the upper poem in a more tragic mode, but may be read as the reflections of someone who has just read the upper poem or as a guide to future readers as to an appropriate response. The shared elements suggest the freshness of the reading experience, and translate some of the relatively understated formality of the upper poem into an emotional reaction to the human situation which lies behind the factuality of the reported death. This is not a matter of which poem was written first, but of the narrative of pity which they together create. Ordinary reading habits would suggest that the upper poem is to be read first, but effects such as the redistribution of ἠϊθέους προλιποῦσα κόρας δισσάς over two verses with enjambment (6–7) strongly confirm this. The fact that there is no mention of Xenokleia's husband may indicate that she was a widow.

Bibl. Pircher 1979: 32–4, Bruss 2005: 91–5, Tsagalis 2008: 228–30, Vestrheim 2010: 68–9, Fantuzzi 2010: 302–3, Schirripa 2010: 162–4, González González 2019: 12.

1 [460] ἠϊθέους (see *188*n.) is only rarely used of females, cf. Eupolis fr. 362 κόρη … ἤιθεος, cited by grammarians precisely for that rarity. **προλιποῦσα:** a standard verb in Attic funerary inscriptions, see Tsagalis 2008: 110–14. **Ξενόκλεια** is a much less well attested name than the masculine Ξενοκλῆς.

3 [462] Four consecutive spondees and marked alliteration create a heavy, mournful effect to match the sense. The implication of the verse, then spelled out in 7, is that Xenokleia died of grief, cf. Bianor, *AP* 7.644

(= *GP* 1661–6), a mother whose graveside lamentation led to her death, *GVI* 839 (a sister's grief for her dead brother); Odysseus' mother tells him that she died as a result of her πόθος for him and his outstanding qualities (*Od.* 11.202–3).

4 [463] ποντίωι ἐν πελάγει: the almost redundant epithet (but cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.56 ἐν πελάγει … ποντίωι) stresses the loneliness of death in the open sea. Emendation to Ποντικῶι ἐν πελάγει, 'in the Pontic sea', would seem an unnecessary elaboration.

5 [464] For such an initial question cf. e.g. Anon. *AP* 7.328.1–2 τίς λίθος οὐκ ἐδάκρυσε σέθεν φθιμένοιο, Κάσσανδρε; / τίς πέτρος, ὃς τῆς σῆς λήσεται ἀγλαΐης;. See also *GVI* 1913.7–8 (Athens, third century BC) οὐθεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀτεγγής, / ὃς τήνδε φθιμένην οὐκ ἐλεεῖ προσιδών. **ἀδαής** 'ignorant of, without experience in'; as the verses just quoted also show, such a person would lack all human feeling.

7 [466] θνήισκεις: for the spelling θνεισκ- on the stone cf. *CEG* 531, Threatte 1980: 372; for the vivid present tense, with reference to a death in the past, see *340*n. **ἄνοικτον:** tombs should be sites of pity (cf. e.g. *SGO* 03/06/08.2 Θειοφάνην οἰκτρὸν σῆμα κέκευθε τόδε), but the sea is a tomb both 'without pity' and 'where no pity is displayed'.

8 [467] δνοφερῶι 'dark, murky', appropriate for both death (e.g. *SGO* 09/14/01.1) and the depths of the sea. **κείμενος** picks up 2 and the standard language of burial for a pointed effect: 'lying (still)' is the last thing the dead child will be doing.

LIX *SEG* 4.633 = *GVI* 1127

An early Hellenistic poem from Sardis, commissioned by a husband for his dead wife, Elpis. The voice which the husband has created for his wife and the sentiments she utters are, by modern standards, remarkable. There is no indication of the cause of Elpis' death other than Τύχη, unless this is concealed at the end of 1; two children seem to have survived her (3–4) and, had she died in childbirth, we might have expected that this would be made explicit. Closely parallel in several ways is LXI.

Bibl. Robinson 1923: 343–5 (*editio princeps*), Wilamowitz 1924b: 11–12, Buckler–Robinson 1932: no. 104 (with photo).

1–2 [468–9] 'For the labours which I endured in [faithfulness], always remembering [my husband], for these I now have thanks in return.' The

printed supplements have been universally accepted, but should not be regarded as certain. The construction in 1 is also uncertain. On the interpretation (that of Wilamowitz) implied by the translation above, μνησθεῖσ᾿ is placed at the head of the verse, outside the clause within which it belongs, both for emphasis and to introduce the theme of memory and forgetfulness which runs through the poem. ὧν will represent τῶν μόχθων ἅ, with attraction of the relative (*CGCG* 50.13), and will then be picked up by demonstrative τῶν. Depending on the supplement at the end of the verse, an alternative would be that μνησθεῖσ᾿ governs the clause which follows: 'As I remember the labours which I endured … for these I now have thanks in return'; the syntax would be more awkward, but hardly impossible in a poem of this kind. Any apparent contradiction between the claim to memory in the Underworld and the 'robe of forgetfulness' in 5 is, however, unproblematic, see 5n. If correctly restored, αἰέν may adhere more closely to ἐμόχθησ᾿ than to μνησθεῖσ᾿. **εἰς [πίστι]ν**, if correctly restored, must mean something like 'in faithfulness', but there is no real parallel for such a phrase (cf. perhaps ἐς φιλότητα in *357*); it would be picked up by πιστόν in 9. The 'faithfulness' of a wife is a standard theme of lamentation and epitaphs, cf. e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 880, 901. **ἐμόχθησ᾿:** the principal 'labours' of a wife are child-bearing and child-rearing, cf. Eur. *Her.* 280–1 πῶς γὰρ οὐ φιλῶ / ἅτικτον, ἁμόχθησα; (with Bond's n.), *Med.* 1029–30 (with Mastronarde's n.), 1261 μόχθος … τέκνων, *Tr.* 760. **Ἐλπίς** is a very well attested female name all over the Greek world; this poem does not obviously make pathetic capital of the name, cf. *268*n. **ἀνταπέχω:** this compound is attested only here, but is formed as the counterpart to ἀνταποδιδόναι χάριν, cf. Thucyd. 3.63.4, Pherecrates fr. 21. The verb stresses the reciprocity of the services that husband and wife have performed for each other.

3 [470] ἐς ἄκαρπον must be adverbial, '(not) fruitlessly', i.e. Elpis' children survived. **ὠδῖνας ἀνέτλην** concludes a hexameter at Euphorion fr. 100.3 Lightfoot and *Megara* 87; on conventional dating, both of these are later than the epigram, but all three may be indebted to an earlier model. The husband responsible for the poem here acknowledges the pain of childbirth.

4 [471] ἱμερτῶν is not uncommon as a complimentary epithet in inscriptions, but it is not a standard description of children. **ὧν μ᾿ ἀπέκλεισε Τύχη** 'from whom Fortune has locked me out'. The image is striking and more unusual than might be supposed: someone is normally 'shut out' of something, not of someone. Eng. 'to shut someone out of your life' has no real Greek equivalent.

5 [472] The poet produces a new variant on the idea of Lethe, 'forgetfulness', in the Underworld, by making the dead woman recall her burial, when a shroud, here the 'robe of forgetfulness', covered her face; the image is made more intense and immediate by ἤδη and blends into a metaphor of death as a 'robe of forgetfulness', cf. *524–5*, Peek 1971: 217. The image seems also to be an extension of the Homeric situation in which mist or darkness descends over the eyes (κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν) of dying warriors (*Il.* 5.696, 13.580, 20.421, etc.); Homer reserves βλεφάρων for descriptions of tears and sleep. Epitaphic inscriptions give Lethe many embodiments – a river, a sea, a house, a meadow, etc. – but there seems no close parallel for the image of this verse; it is in the nature of such inscriptions, in which the dead speak, that the coming (or drinking) of Lethe is not necessarily allowed to erase all memory, though a poet may use such an idea for particular effects, cf. *554*n. In Plato's 'Myth of Er', there seems to be a distinction made between those who senselessly drink too much from the river Ἀμέλης ('Heedless') and those who drink moderately (Pl. *Rep.* 10.621a4–b1). On Lethe in inscriptional and eschatological texts see Sacco 1978, Bernabé–Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 29–35, Hanink 2010: 29–34, Graf–Johnston 2013: 117–20.

6 [473] ὅς: the antecedent is πέπλον. **κατασκιάσας:** the shroud covers and holds Elpis in Hades, as though she was tangled in it and could not escape. It would normally be the earth which 'shrouded' the dead, cf. *GVI* 870, Soph. *OC* 406.

7 [474] οἰκτρὰ μαραινομένην: the present tense continues the vivid sense that we are watching Elpis' death, rather than reading about someone dead long ago, cf. *SEG* 12.339 τύμβοις δῶκε μαραινομένην, Eur. *Alc.* 203, 236 of Alcestis; the less emotional σῶμα μαραινόμενον is found elsewhere of the buried corpse, cf. *GVI* 982.4, 1942.10.

8 [475] The optative expresses a polite request and, as often, the important part of the message is in the participle rather than the verb. As her final act, the dead wife asks passers-by to praise her living husband, who is responsible for the tomb and the inscription; this embodiment of wifely propriety is thus eternalised in stone.

9 [476] -δρου Ἀπ – is scanned as a single long syllable, with the result that the verse lacks a third-foot caesura; this isolated rhythmical 'blip' allows the name and patronymic of the husband's father to be celebrated. **δὶς [ὅσσον]:** if the supplement is correct, this will be a variant on the common δὶς τόσον, 'twice as much'. The motif of mutual affection of husband and wife is found early in the inscriptional record, cf. e.g. LVI.

10 [477] μνημείοις picks up μνησθεῖσ᾽ in 1 to suggest (again) the reciprocity of husband and wife. **κατηγλάϊ[σεν]:** cf. *491*, *IG* XII.5, 445 τίς σε τὸν ἐμ πέτρηι Μουσῶν θεράποντ᾽ ἐχάραξεν, / παῖ Τελεσικλῆος κοῦρε, καταγλαΐσας;. Both the simple ἀγλαΐζειν and its compounds are used for the creation of tombs and other marks of honour.

LX Bernand 30 = *GVI* 1353

A third-century BC poem from Alexandria: a woman who died in childbirth, or (perhaps less likely) her tombstone, asks passers-by to report her death in her home town, if by chance they visit it. This epitaphic motif is common (cf. Asclepiades, *AP* 7.500 (= *HE* 954–7) with Sens 2011: 206–7, Nossis, *AP* 7.718 (= *HE* 2831–4), a strikingly novel use of the form, Di Marco 1997, Hunter 2019: 148–9), but the present poem seems particularly close to Callimachus, *Epigr.* 12 (= *HE* 1237–40), perhaps written also in Alexandria and close in time to the inscribed poem:

> Κύζικον ἢν ἔλθηις, ὀλίγος πόνος Ἵππακὸν εὑρεῖν
> καὶ Διδύμην· ἀφανὴς οὔτι γὰρ ἡ γενεή.
> καί σφιν ἀνιηρὸν μὲν ἐρεῖς ἔπος, ἔμπα δὲ λέξαι
> τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι τὸν κείνων ὧδ᾽ ἐπέχω Κριτίην.
>
> If you go to Cyzicus, it is little trouble to find Hippakos and Didyme, for the family is not at all obscure. You will give them a painful message, but nevertheless say that here I hold their son Kritias.

Both poems explore a world of understated (3 οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφραί) and suppressed grief. That the dead does not directly address the passer-by in the vocative in Callimachus' poem is a powerful stylistic effect. If indeed this poem is spoken by the dead woman (cf. πάτρην), calling herself by her name and avoiding all personal pronouns, this invests that poem with an equally powerful reserve, felt also in Agathoklea's silence as to the intended recipients of the message; the message will signify, whoever receives it in her hometown. The poet of LX was clearly close to Alexandrian poetic trends (see also 3n.). Short syllables are scanned long before plosive and liquid or nasal combinations throughout.

1 [478] Ἡράκλειαν: the town cannot be securely identified, as the name is a common one.

2 [479] εἰπεῖν: imperatival infinitive (Smyth §2013, *CGCG* 38.37).

3 [480] Ἀγαθόκλεαν: as often, the masculine of this name is much better attested, but the feminine occurs in various parts of the Greek

world. **οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφραί** ends a hexameter at Arat. *Phain.* 81, but closer is Call. *h.* 1.29 (Rheia to Gaia) τέκε καὶ σύ· τεαὶ δ᾽ ὠδῖνες ἐλαφραί.

4 [481] ἤντησαν 'did they [i.e. labour pains] come over [me]'; ἀπαντάω is more common in this sense. Cf. *GVI* 1606.2 (a woman who died just after giving birth) ὅτε ὠδῖνος νύμφη ἀπηντίασεν. **τέκνου πρὸς φάος ἐρχομένου:** genitive absolute. The phrase probably implies that the child survived, cf. Archias, *AP* 9.111.1–2 (= *GP* 3694–5) υἷας … / μητέρος ἐκ κόλπων πρὸς φάος ἐρχομένους.

LXI *GVI* 1128

A third-century BC poem from Melos, composed in the mild Doric *koinē* of the Aegean islands (Bubeník 1989: 193–5). In the opening couplets the dead Kudila declares her continuing love for her husband Zelon who has paid her memorable honour in death; by beginning with an emphatic declaration and withholding her own name until v. 5, Kudila makes clear that all her thoughts are centred on the husband she left behind.

Bibl. Pircher 1979: 58–61.

1–2 [482–3] οὐ γὰρ ὀθνείαις / φροντίσι: lit. 'for with no foreign thoughts', i.e. 'not treating me as a foreigner/non-member of his family', a very striking understatement ('litotes') which in fact implies 'treating me as his very dearest', cf. Eur. *Hel.* 16 (of Sparta) οὐκ ἀνώνυμος. ὀθνεῖος, which may be virtually synonymous with ξένος, is regularly opposed to οἰκεῖος or συγγενής; a wife may be viewed as both 'outside' and 'not outside', and the matter is thematised in Eur. *Alc.* (646, 810–11), the only Attic drama in which ὀθνεῖος appears. ἀλλότρια φρονεῖν means 'be opposed to, have hostile sentiments towards'. **θαητὸν … βροτοῖς** 'splendidly visible to/a source of wonder for mortals', cf. *GVI* 735.3–4 (Rome, imperial) σῆμα … θηητὸν πάντεσσι; it is common for inscriptions to call attention to the splendour of the funerary monument.

3 [484] ἔθηκεν produces a breach of Naeke's Law (*88–9*n.), which, however common, is somewhat surprising in this poem; Kaibel noted that the poet could have written ἔθηκέ με. This stonecutter seems to have been a bit careless with final nu. **ὁμόλεκτρον:** originally an adjective (cf. Eur. *Or.* 508), but it appears as a noun also at Leonidas, *AP* 7.295.9 (= *HE* 2082); on three other inscriptions (all probably later than this one) it is accompanied by the name of the spouse, cf. *596*. It is here probably intended to sound poetic.

4 [485] ἥρωσιν: the dead were regularly identified as 'heroes', both with and without subsequent cultic honours (cf. LSJ ἥρως II, Lattimore 1942: 97–9, Fraser 1977: 77–8, Pircher 1979: 59, Wypustek 2013: 68–96). Here, however, despite ἀθανάταις in 10, Kudila is not claiming that her family did treat her after death as a 'hero' in the traditional sense (contrast, e.g., *GVI* 1157, 1197); posthumous 'honours equal to the heroes' simply shows that her husband could not have done more for her. The claim now to reside in the place of the pious/blessed also strengthens the link with Hesiod's 'heroes', cf. *710–12*n. **φίλτρων** suggests not just the mutual love and affection of husband and wife, but also the 'bewitchment' which Kudila's 'charms', both physical and of character, worked upon her husband. There is here a very discreet suggestion of the mutual sexual pleasure which they enjoyed and which the husband remembers.

5 [486] Κυδίλα: κλεινὸν … οὔνομα suggests an etymology from κῦδος, 'Lady of Renown'. The name is not otherwise attested in this form; *LGPN* I records a Κύδιλλα from Delos (second century BC), and Κύδιλλα is the name of a slave in Herodas 4 and 5.

6 [487] χώρωι ἐν εὐσεβέων: cf. *154–5*, *710–12*nn.

7–8 [488–9] πατρὸς … μητρός enclose the hexameter, as Kudila introduces her parents; μητρός is the *koinē* form in preference to Doric ματρός. Damainetos is a common name, whereas Kleisphussa is otherwise unattested and has been thought by some to be impossible; Hiller von Gaertringen (1908) suggested Κλειφώσσας, and this is accepted by *LGPN* I. **κληιζομένα** 'celebrated [as daughter of]'. ἐκ is probably to be taken with both genitives, with δέ γε as continuative (GP^2 155–6); this is a high style form (cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 41–2, *IT* 886–7, K–G I 550) which further raises the level of Kudila's self-presentation. **δοιῶν εὐγενετᾶν γονέων:** a high-style phrase celebrating Kudila's family. δοιοί is a metrically useful epic and poetic form, which is found occasionally in Hellenistic and later inscriptions; εὐγενέτης, a variant for εὐγενής, is in classical literature practically restricted to high lyric (three times in Eur., Timotheus, *PMG* 791.206), but later occurs in both literary and inscribed epigram. 'Noble' birth is a recurrent motif of funerary inscriptions, cf. e.g. *243*, *GVI* 474.3 (Chios, late Hellenistic) ἀμφότεραι Κῶιαι, πρῶται γένος, 1121.1–2 (Samos, late Hellenistic) ἠ γενεῆι δόξηι τε … ἔξοχος.

9 [490] ξυνόμευνος: ξυν- for the expected συν- may be another feature to make the epigram sound 'poetic'; the word varies and matches ὁμόλεκτρον in 3: husband and wife are perfectly matched in diction also. συνόμευνος

was used in Hellenistic and imperial poetry as a metrically useful variant of the classical σύνευνος, cf. *674*. This and *Adesp. Ep.* 9 col. iii 15 Powell (*CA* p. 83) are perhaps the earliest attestations. **γε** is a further marker of the linguistic ambition of the poem. **κἀποθανοῦσαν** 'also in death'.

10 [491] Ζήλων: otherwise unattested, though Ζῆλος, Ζηλίας, Ζήλας and Ζήλωτος are all known. Kaibel suggested a play with ζηλῶν, 'being zealous, in his eagerness'. **ἀθανάταις … χάρισιν** 'immortal signs of his gratitude'. **ἠγλάϊσεν:** see *477*n.

LXII Bernand 83 = *GVI* 1680

A poem of Ptolemaic date from Karanis in the northern Fayum; the address to passers-by in the final couplet is marked off on the stone by line division of the two verses (at τάφον and ἐμήν) and by different spacing. The poem is spoken by Lysandra, dead at twenty before marriage; her evocation of the wedding she never had (3–6) is sensual and vivid. The language is marked by both verbal repetition (see 7, 13nn.) and 'learned' effects typical of contemporary 'literary' poetry (see 9, 12nn.). The opening verse is very close to Diotimus, *AP* 7.261.1 (= *HE* 1735), a poem on a young man buried by his mother, τί πλέον εἰς ὠδῖνα πονεῖν, τί δὲ τέκνα τεκέσθαι;. The date of that poem is, however, very uncertain (cf. *HE* II pp. 270–1); the Karanis poet may be imitating Diotimus, but the themes are common enough to enjoin caution, cf. also Menecrates, *AP* 9.390 (= *HE* 2589–94), see 1, 9–10nn. For an argument that the poem imitates Callimachus see 9–10n.

Bibl. Lefebvre 1921: 165–8 (*editio princeps*, cf. *SEG* 1.567); there is an English translation in Rowlandson 1998: 347.

1 [492] τί πλέον ἐστ' 'What benefit is it …?', a common phrase and a common opening, cf. *GVI* 1681.1, Asclepiades, *AP* 5.85 (= *HE* 816) φείδηι παρθενίης· καὶ τί πλέον; (with Sens 2011: 9), Menecrates, *AP* 9.390.5 (= *HE* 2593, cited in 9–10n.), Rossi 2001: 276–7, LSJ πλείων II 1. It is typical of epitaphic rhetoric that the 'purpose' of children should be seen within a calculus of mutual benefit. For the rejection of children as the cause of more sorrow than happiness in earlier poetry cf. e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 880–8, *Andr.* 395–6, Fantuzzi 2020: 622, and for a variation on this rhetoric Eur. fr. 84 ἢ τί πλέον εἶναι παῖδας ἀνθρώποις, πάτερ, / εἰ μὴ 'πὶ τοῖς δεινοῖσιν ὠφελήσομεν; **πονεῖν** here refers to the 'labour' of bringing up children (cf. *468–9*n., Soph. *El.* 1145, *SGO* 08/01/43.4 μόχθου), not of bringing them into the world. **ἢ πρὸς τί προτιμᾶν** 'or to what

purpose [is it] to give (children) preference [over all the other things one might have]?'

2 [493] Hades is not a traditional 'judge' of the dead, unlike, e.g., Minos and Rhadamanthys (cf. *GVI* 699.4, 1693.1–2, Bernand 32.11), but the words vary the traditional idea (cf. already *Il.* 9.319–20) that, as death is the fate which awaits us all, how we lead our lives (something which Zeus might judge) makes little difference. Death and Hades are notoriously ἄκριτοι, 'without discrimination', 'not judging', cf. *546*; in *GVI* 1078.4 Hades is said to have ἄκριτον ἀστόργου θηρὸς … κραδίην, and in *SGO* 08/04/01.1 he is ὁ πᾶσι θνητοῖς ἄκριτος βίου βραβεύς.

3–4 [494–5] The prominence given to the father here and in 11 suggests that the mother Philonike is already dead. That Lysandra was unmarried at the age of twenty may be considered relatively unusual, at least to judge by surviving epitaphs. **οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσα … λέχη** 'nor did I complete (the journey) to the marriage-bed in the bridal chamber'; for τελεῖν εἰς in this sense cf. *Od.* 7.325–6, Thucyd. 4.78.5, LSJ τελέω I 1. The words evoke the bride's procession from her own home to the bridal bed prepared for her in the groom's house. The apparent redundancy of language in 4 and the fact that three verses are devoted to the description of the wedding-night which never happened suggest the importance to Lysandra of the imagined wedding: this τέλος is what would have given her life meaning. Like οὐδ' ἐκρότησαν in 5, οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσα could be articulated as a high-style unaugmented aorist (οὐδὲ τέλεσσα), but πίκρ' ἔβαλεν (8) is clear on the stone.

5–6 [496–7] These lines imagine, in correct sequence, the two stages which would have followed the journey to the groom's house: Lysandra entering her husband's bed, and the celebrations of her friends during the night. **παστόν:** a curtain or canopy hanging over, and marking off, the bridal bed, cf. e.g. Antipater, *AP* 7.711.1–2 (= *HE* 548–9), Lane 1988. **ἐμὸν δέμας** suggests the physical and sexual pleasure of which Lysandra and a prospective husband have been deprived. **οὐδ' ἐκρότησαν … σανίδας** 'nor did the friends of my age all night long cause the doors, stout with cedar, to resound'; the plural verb with the collective singular subject is a common *constructio ad sensum* (*CGCG* 27.6). The doors may resound either to the girls' singing and dancing outside (cf. e.g. Theocr. 18.7–8, Philip, *AP* 7.186.2 (= *GP* 2796), Longus, *D&C* 4.40.2) or to actual knocking on the door of the bridal chamber, cf. Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.711.7–8 (= *HE* 554–5), Meleager, *AP* 7.182.4 (= *HE* 4683), Hesych. κ 4330. The hypothesis to Theocr. 18

claims that the purpose of the singing outside the bridal chamber was 'so that the maiden's voice as she is deflowered (βιαζομένης) by her husband should not be heard'. **πάννυχ(α):** adverbial neuter plural. The playful celebrations outside the wedding-chamber lasted all night, cf. Sappho fr. 30. **ὁμηλικίη:** Lysandra's friends who are not yet married, cf. 13, Theocr. 18.22, *Il.* 3.175 (Helen of the friends she left behind), *GVI* 1064.3, 1543.4. **κεδροπαγεῖς:** the compound adjective does not occur elsewhere, and is intended to sound high and poetic; the meaning is probably just 'made of cedar', cf. Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 6.46.3 (= *HE* 176) χαλκοπαγῆ σάλπιγγα, *GVI* 973.14 τὰ θεῶν δώματα χρυσοπαγῆ. Cedar here probably suggests a certain rich luxuriance.

7–8 [498–9] παρθενίη σειρήν 'virginal attractiveness', a remarkable phrase which continues with great sadness the images which have preceded: after her wedding-night, Lysandra would no longer have been a παρθένος, but death has more brutally destroyed her grace. σειρήν may be used of the 'charm' of words or song (see LSJ II), but foremost here are Lysandra's physical charms and grace. **ἐκείνην / Μοῖραν:** accusative of exclamation, common in expressions of grief, cf. *CEG* 512.2–3, Asclepiades, *AP* 13.23.5 (= *HE* 966) φεῦ τὸν τεκόντα, Douris, *AP* 9.424.6 (= *HE* 1778), Sens 2011: 225, Reed on Bion, *EA* 28. **τίς** here functions as a relative pronoun, cf. Call. *Epigr.* 28.2 (= *HE* 1042), Harder 2012: II 641, LSJ B II 1d. The transmitted ἰή, ἥτις would require -η η- to be scanned as a single long syllable; either the error was a simple slip or it arose from the unfamiliarity of the rare use of τίς. **νήματα πίκρ':** we are all caught in the threads which the Fates spin for us, cf. e.g. *253*, *573*.

9–10 [500–1] lack a main verb, as τοί must be the Homeric relative pronoun, 'breasts … which cared for me …'. The anacoluthon is not, however, difficult: μαστοί is placed in the nominative at the head of the sentence as the principal subject of the thought (see Smyth §941), 'I was unable to repay my mother's breasts which nourished me', but the second relative pronoun οἷς disrupts the syntax. **κενεὸν γάλα** has been taken as a second accusative after ἐκόμησαν, 'nourished me with milk in vain', but the postulated construction is very awkward. The poet may rather be imitating Call. *Epigr.* 50.1 (= *HE* 1261) τὴν Φρυγίην Αἴσχρην, ἀγαθὸν γάλα, πᾶσιν [Bentley: παισὶν] ἐν ἐσθλοῖς κτλ., in which case κενεὸν γάλα is nominative and in apposition to μαστοί; such a mannered imitation is certainly not out of keeping with the style of this poem, and there are other points of contact between the poems: γηροτρόφον ~ ἐγηροκόμει, ἡ γρηὺς μαστῶν ὧς ἀπέχει χάριτας (*Epigr.* 50.4). Knowledge of Callimachus' epigrams by a

poet working in lower Egypt in the late third or second century BC would hardly surprise. For the theme of the couplet cf. Menecrates, *AP* 9.390.5–6 (= *HE* 2593–4), on a mother who kills her fourth child after the first three have died, "οὐ θρέψω", λέξασα, "τί γὰρ πλέον; Ἄϊδι, μαστοί, / κάμνετε· κερδήσω πένθος ἀμοχθότερον". For other poetic uses of the language of maternal breast and milk see Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.95. **γηροτρόφον:** another high-style epithet, cf. *194–5*n., Eur. *Alc.* 668; it is paired with χάρις also at *GVI* 969.3 and 1928.4–5.

11 [502] ὄφελον: the unaugmented aorist in such wishes is common in Homer and is here another poetic feature. Dido's regret that she has no 'little Aeneas' to recall the man she has lost (Virg. *Aen.* 4.327–30) has something in common with Lysandra's regret concerning her father. **ὅπως μή** is an unusually 'prosaic' verse-end.

12 [503] αἰῶνα 'for his whole lifetime', an accusative of the extent of time; prepositional phrases such as εἰς αἰῶνα are much more common, see LSJ αἰών II. **μνήμης πένθος ἄλαστον** 'unbearable grief of memory'. πένθος ἄλαστον is an epic formula, cf. *Il.* 24.105 (Thetis for Achilles), *Od.* 1.342 (Penelope for Odysseus), 24.423 (grief for a child), and the phrase exploits a believed etymology of ἄλαστον as 'unforgotten' or 'unforgettable', ἀ + λήθω, cf. Schol. *Il.* 22.261, 24.105 (D), *Et. Mag.* s.v. 57.39–40, Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.87: Eudemos will thus endure 'an unforgetting grief of memory'.

13–14 [504–5] Lysandra/ē and Philonikē are both much less commonly attested than the corresponding masculine names. **συνομήλικες:** see 5–6n. **καὶ Εὔδημος** is scanned as three syllables by synecphonesis, see West 1982: 13. **†τηνϯ:** without the preceding ἥν, we might naturally have taken this as another Homeric relative pronoun; Lefebvre's τήνδ', inside the relative clause, is unconvincing. As κούρην immediately precedes, the error may lie in -ην: τώς, 'thus', would be a suitable Homerism for this poem.

15 [506] There is a breach of Hermann's Bridge (*349*n.), here mitigated by elision. **ἐμὸν … τάφον:** accusative of motion towards without a preposition. Crönert suggested τοῖς παρ' ἐμὸν … τάφον, but such a corruption seems unlikely.

16 [507] κλαύσατ': the repetition from 13 evokes a refrain of a sort often found in poems of mourning, cf. *GVI* 808, Bion, *EA*, [Moschus], *EB*, etc.

LXIII *SGO* 01/20/21 = *GVI* 1344

A poem from Hellenistic Miletos for Alkmeonis, who had a leading role as official priestess in Dionysiac cult in the city; another inscription, of the first half of the third century BC (Sokolowski 1955: no. 48), provides important detail on that cult. Diod. Sic. 4.3.1 reports that 'in many Greek cities, Bacchic groups of women gather every second year. It is customary for unmarried virgins to carry the thyrsus and to join in the inspired revelry, crying "euoi!" and honouring the god. The married women sacrifice to the god in groupings and perform his rites (βακχεύειν) and generally celebrate the presence of Dionysus, imitating the maenads who are reported to have accompanied the god in former times' (see Henrichs 1978: 144–6). Alkmeonis seems both to have taken the leading role in the ὀρειβασία which women performed every second year (3–4n.) and to have regularly (perhaps annually) led Bacchic processions in the city.

Bibl. Haussoullier 1919, Henrichs 1969, 1978: 148–9 (with a photo of the stone after p. 124), Merkelbach 1972, Breuer 1995: 87–9, Hermann 1998: no. 733, Jaccottet 2003: I 73–7, 133–4, II 250–1.

1–2 [508–9] Women performing Dionysiac cult are given the precise words with which they are to greet the tomb of the former priestess. **τὴν ὁσίαν χαίρειν ... ἱρείην:** in such constructions there may originally have been an ellipse of a verb such as λέγω or κελεύω, but in our texts such an accusative and infinitive of command was already an independent, and rather formal, construction, cf. 77n., *679*, Eur. *Cycl.* 101, Pl. *Ion* 530a1 τὸν Ἴωνα χαίρειν (with Rijksbaron 2007: 98), Theocr. 14.1 χαίρειν πολλὰ τὸν ἄνδρα Θυώνιχον, Men. *Dysc.* 401. **ὁσίαν:** for this standard term in Dionysiac and mystic contexts cf. Eur. *Ba.* 370–5 (with Dodds's n. on 370–2), Eur. *Cretans* fr. 472.15 βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθείς, Ar. *Frogs* 327 ὁσίους εἰς θιασώτας, 335 ὁσίοις μύσταις. Both ὅσιος and χρηστός (*452*n.) are commonly used as complimentary epithets of the dead, but their combination is rare, cf. *IG* XII.1, 711, Fraser 1977: 71–3, 162–3; ὁσίαν refers to Alkmeonis' role and performance as priestess, χρηστῆι to her virtues as a woman. **πολιήτιδες:** the Bacchants represent and are appointed by the city. The adjective is formal and high in style, cf. Posidippus, *SH* 705.1 (= 118.1 A–B) Μοῦσαι πολιήτιδες, Anyte, *AP* 7.492.3 (= *HE* 754). **ἱρείην:** an Ionic form for ἱέρεια, 'priestess', cf. 3 ἱρά. **θέμις** carries a resonance of 'religious appropriateness', not just 'right, proper', cf. *122–3*n., *SGO* 01/12/09 (Dionysiac cult in Hellenistic Halicarnassus) σιγᾶν ὅ τι κρυπτὸν ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀϋτεῖν / ὅσσα θέμις.

3–4 [510–11] distinguish two activities: 'She both led you to the mountain and carried all the holy things and sacred objects …'. The fragmentary first line of the Milesian cultic regulation (Sokolowski 1955: no. 48) reads ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἱέρεια ἐπι[…..]ηι τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως … **εἰς ὄρος:** women performed Dionysiac cult in the mountains every second year, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 115–16 Βρόμιος εὖτ᾽ ἂν ἄγηι θιάσους / εἰς ὄρος εἰς ὄρος (with Dodds's n. on 115), 133–4 τριετηρίδων / αἷς χαίρει Διόνυσος, 164, Theocr. 26.2. Posidippus 44 A–B is a funerary epigram for a παρθένος, a servant of Dionysus, for whom the Bacchants wept when she came ἐξ ὀρέων (see Bremmer 2006); an imperial inscription lays down the fine for a member of the cult who 'does not go with the group εἰς ὄρος' (Sokolowski 1969: no. 181). **ὄργια** 'ritual objects' not to be seen by the uninitiated, cf. Theocr. 26.13, Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 469–70, Henrichs 1969: 226–9, Motte–Pirenne-Delforge 1992; the meaning is probably not fundamentally different from ἱρά, cf. Theocr. 26.7 ἱερὰ δ᾽ ἐκ κίστας πεποναμένα χερσὶν ἑλοῖσαι. Alkmeonis probably acted as κισταφόρος (or κιστοφόρος) in the city's Dionysiac processions. **ἤνεικεν:** an aorist of φέρω found largely in Ionic; there is here no obvious difference in significance from the imperfect ἦγε: both presumably refer to repeated actions (contrast ἄγαγον at Theocr. 26.2). **πάσης … πρὸ πόλεως** refers to Alkmeonis' role in public processions and also evokes cults of the god πρὸ πόλεως, a phrase used of gods (and their priesthoods) who preserved the well-being of the city. It is attested for cults of Dionysus in Smyrna and Ephesos, and cf. *SGO* 02/01/02 where ὁ πρὸ πόλεως is the title of one of three Dionysiac θίασοι, Robert–Robert 1983: 171–6, Petzl 1987: 142.

5 [512] Later evidence suggests that in some cults priests and priestesses were referred to only by their title, not by their personal name, cf. *EG* 863, *IG* II^2, 3811, Eunapius, *Vit. Phil.* 7.3.1 (all with reference to Eleusinian cult); this may be part of the point of ξεῖνος – a citizen would know not to ask for the holy woman's name – but there is also an encomiastic force: the subject of the inscription is so well known that no local would need to ask the name. This naming practice may perhaps have something to do with the otherwise obscure Men. *Dysk.* 496, where an absurd cook claims that one can ingratiate oneself with a 'middle-aged woman' by calling her 'priestess'. **Ἀλκμειωνίς:** the lady's name was almost certainly Ἀλκμεωνίς; the second syllable is lengthened to accommodate the name to a hexameter, cf. *204*, *238*nn. Ἀλκμέων is regularly spelled Ἀλκμαίων in ancient texts and later manuscripts.

6 [513] Ῥοδίου: Rhodios is surprisingly rarely attested as a name; *LGPN* lists one other from fourth-century Miletos and one from fourth-century Ephesos. Ῥοδοῖος occurs on Rhodes. **καλῶν μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη**

'understanding her share of the good things'. This deliberately mystic phrase is usually understood to refer to the blessings of the afterlife: now that Alkmeonis is dead, she has received the eternal blessedness which her cult held out to its members, see Henrichs 1969: 238–9. The chorus of Eur. *Alc.* wish that, 'if there is [in the Underworld] too something more reserved for the good', then Alcestis should share (μετέχουσα) in these things (vv. 744–5). Such happiness is often described in terms of the acquisition of knowledge, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 72–7 ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαί- / μων τελετὰς θεῶν εἰ- / δὼς βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει / καὶ θιασεύεται ψυ- / χὰν ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύ- / ων ὁσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν; there is a resonance of special privilege also at Bacchyl. 5.51 (on Hieron) ὄλβιος ὧιτινι θεὸς / μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν.

LXIV Bernand 34 = *GVI* 1312

A Hellenistic, probably second century BC, poem from Egypt, though the exact provenance is unknown; the poem for Aline implies that the *stēlē* was erected in a rural area away from large settlements.

Bibl. Segre 1941 (*editio princeps*, with photo), Bing 1998, Rossi 2001: 59–60, Sens 2006: 147–8, Höschele 2007: 346–8, 2010: 119–22, Christian 2015: 312–14.

1–3 [514–16] The deceased addresses a sequence of possible passers-by: 'Even if you, herdsmen, … and you shepherds …, but [i.e. nevertheless] do you, (literate) traveller …'; the implication that those addressed in 1–2 would not be able to read the inscription is all but made explicit in 3. In Leonidas, *AP* 7.657 (= *HE* 2062–73) the deceased asks shepherds to make pastoral offerings on his grave; the improbability that 'real' shepherds could read such a poem is thematised in the inscription, and this is a striking marker of difference between 'literary' and 'non-literary' poems. The opening couplet of Leonidas' poem has some similarity to the first couplet of the inscription: ποιμένες οἳ ταύτην ὄρεος ῥάχιν οἰοπολεῖτε / αἶγας κεὐείρους ἐμβοτέοντες [Scaliger: ἐμβατέοντες codd.] ὄις κτλ. For the literacy of some earlier shepherds (sixth-century BC Attica) see Langdon 2015.

1 [514] βουκόλοι ἄνδρες: a Homeric phrase, cf. *Il.* 13.571. There is no reason to connect the phrase with the bandits of the Nile delta called βουκόλοι, best known from the Greek novels (see Rutherford 2000). **ὁδὸν διαμείβετε τήνδε** may just mean 'travel along this road' (cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 334–5), but the movement of the βουκόλοι and μηλονόμοι and their herds

may be contrasted with that of the ‘traveller’ who follows a marked track; if so, ‘cross over this path’ may be the meaning.

2 [515] φέρβετε ‘graze’, active, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 75 οὔτε ποιμὴν ἀξιοῖ φέρβειν βοτά. **μηλονόμοι:** a rare word (Eur. *Alc.* 573, *Cycl.* 660, Choerilus fr. 5.1 Bernabé) before late epic (common in Quint. Smyrn. and Nonnus). The picture of rural life in 1–2 is coloured by poetic imagination.

3 [516] See 1–3n. The Muses presided over education, and images of them were regularly placed in schoolrooms, cf. e.g. Herodas 3.1, 57, 97; ‘raised by the labours of the Muses’ is a poetic periphrasis which advertises what it describes: writing like this is what such κάματοι can do for you. There is no need to understand that the ‘passer-by’ addressed is a poet or that Aline herself was a ‘professional poet’.

4 [517] αὐδήσας σῆμ’ Ἀλίνης ‘having addressed Aline’s tomb’. Peek suggests that σῆμ’ Ἀλίνης are the actual words of the greeting, ‘having said “tomb of Aline” …’; this is attractive, as the passer-by is probably indeed imagined as saying σῆμ’ Ἀλίνης, χαῖρε, but it produces an awkward connection with 5, in which χαῖρε clearly is the cited greeting with εἰπών. **Ἀλίνης:** the name is well attested in Egypt and sporadically elsewhere in the Greek world.

5–6 [518–19] δὶς [κα]ὐτὸς ἔχοις τόδε ‘may you yourself also have this [i.e. τὸ χαίρειν] twice over’, cf. Bernand 1.5–6 (Ptolemaic Egypt) ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν λόγον, ὦ ξένε, καί με προσείπας / “χαίρειν τὸν κατὰ γῆς”, διπλόα ταῦτα λάχοις. **[κα]ὐτός**, i.e. καὶ αὐτός, is perhaps the most attractive supplement, but it cannot be considered certain. **λείπω … λέλοιπα:** there is here no discernible difference between the tenses. **τρίζυγα:** a poetic variant for τρία, cf. Soph. fr. 545 R, Eur. *Hel.* 357 (with Kannicht’s n.), Archias, *AP* 6.18.1 (= *GP* 3614).

LXV *SGO* 01/20/38 = *GVI* 1536

A Hellenistic poem from Miletos. We learn in the last verse that Polydamantis was married but had not given birth; perhaps she died in childbirth. Her mother is said to be ‘old’ (and see 3–4n.), but that term can be rather flexible in reference. The names of her parents and her husband were probably given elsewhere on the monument.

Bibl. Hermann 1998: no. 746.

1 [520] Πουλυδαμαντί: the name is not found elsewhere; the masculine Πολυ/Πουλυδάμας appears in various parts of the Greek world.

2 [521] κυανέαν πορθμίδ᾽: see *440–1*n. **ἔβης** 'you stepped on to'; ἀναβαίνειν is more common in this sense.

3–4 [522–3] The production of grandchildren to look after one in old age was one of the major hopes that Greeks had for their children, cf. *138*, *194–5*nn. **οὐδέ τι** 'not at all'. **κηδέμονας ... γήραος οὐλομένου:** lit. '[to be] carers for [his] grim old age'. This could mean that he is already old, or it could look ahead to the time that he becomes old, cf. 7.

5–6 [524–5] A difficult couplet. As transmitted, one verb (ἐσκίασε, or ἐπὶ ... ἐσκίασε in a very extended tmesis (Peek 1971: 216–17)) has two subjects and two objects in asyndeton: 'but a dark cloud darkened the lovely house, forgetfulness (darkened) your family with its robe'. This would be a very striking and emotional poeticism; the only alternatives are extensive emendation or the assumption of a lacuna, and neither is attractive. Caution about the text is, however, required. **ἐπιπορφυρέη:** if correct, the only attestation of this compound. In *Il.* πορφύρεος is connected with death (e.g. 5.83, 16.334), and is often glossed as μέλας by grammarians, cf. Hesych. π3084, *LfgrE*. **λήθη ... φάρεσιν:** cf. *472* λήθης ... πέπλον, where see n. Emendation to λήθης τὴν γενεὴν φάρεσιν is tempting, but leaves the problem of the two accusative phrases unresolved. Polydamantis' death without leaving children puts the future survival of the family in doubt.

8 [527] Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 944 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔνδον ἐξελᾶι μ᾽ ἐρημία (Introduction, p. 30), Call. *Epigr.* 20.5–6 (= *HE* 1197–8) κατήφησεν δὲ Κυρήνη / πᾶσα τὸν εὔτεκνον χῆρον ἰδοῦσα δόμον.

LXVI *SGO* 05/01/52 = *IK* 23.520 = *GVI* 1512

A poem from Hellenistic Smyrna for a two-year-old girl. The final verse is an iambic trimeter, rather than a pentameter, in order to accommodate her father's name, cf. *204*n.

Bibl. Page 1976: 174–6, Garulli 2008b.

1 [528] The repeated τ and λ sounds may evoke the babbling of the child described in 1–2. **αἱμύλα κωτίλλουσα** 'with your winning babbling'; the same phrase is used, at the head of a pentameter, of a three-year-old girl in *GVI* 840.2 (Hellenistic Thessaly), and cf. *GVI* 698.1–2 (Hellenistic

Cyprus), an eight-year-old girl loved οὕνεκα τερπνῆς / αἱμυλίης. The phrase derives from Hes. *WD* 374 where it is used of the 'charming lies' (West) of a sexy but thieving woman, cf. *WD* 78 of Pandora. The adaptation of the Hesiodic phrase to the cute babbling of a toddler in two (? roughly contemporary) poems from regions as separate as Smyrna and Thessaly is an interesting example of the issues raised by the composition and transmission of epitaphic poetry, see Introduction, pp. 10–16, Garulli 2012: 229–30. Menander Rhetor uses the phrase of how a bride might attempt to deceive her husband on their wedding-night (407.10 Sp. = p. 148 R–W). **ἀτίταλλες** probably means 'you used to delight/entertain/win over', though the verb standardly has the parent as subject and the child as object and means 'nourish, rear'. The description of a young child πατρὶ … / … προσσαίρονθ' (where προσσαίνονθ' might be suggested) at *GVI* 977.1–2 is rather similar, see next n.

2 [529] ἱεῖσα: the final syllable is lengthened before τρ-, cf. *GP* I xxxix. **τραυλήν:** this and related words are applied to the speech both of young children (e.g. *GVI* 977.1 νηπιάχοις τραυλίσμασι, Ar. *Clouds* 862, 1381) and of lisping adults; for discussion of the similarity of these two modes cf. Arist. *De aud.* 801b5–8, *Probl.* 11.902b17–24. **γῆρυν:** a poetic term for 'voice', almost oxymoronic with τραυλήν.

3 [530] κόλπων ἀπὸ μητέρος: the accent on a disyllabic preposition is thrown back to the first syllable when it follows its noun ('anastrophe', *80–1*n.), but not when it is followed by a further noun dependent on the first, cf. K–B I 334. **τὴν διέτη** 'the two-year-old'.

4 [531] The two halves of the verse stand in pointed opposition: ἀστεμφής ~ μείλιχε, Ἀΐδης ~ Νικόπολι. **ἀστεμφής** 'unflinching, who cannot be moved', here used as a choicer, poetic alternative for a word such as ἄστρεπτος, used of Charon and death (*GVI* 868.3, 1919.3, Lyc. *Alex.* 813) and cf. *AP* 7.483.1 Ἀΐδη ἀλλιτάνευτε καὶ ἄτροπε. Homer does not use ἀστεμφής of persons, but cf. Theocr. 13.37 (Telamon). **μείλιχε** 'sweet', 'gentle'. The choice of epithet perhaps continues the theme of the girl's speech, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 84 (the good king) τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα.

5 [532] περὶ σῶμα καλύπτοι: tmesis, but also suggesting that the earth now surrounds Nikopolis as κούφη … κόνις embraces σέθεν περὶ σῶμα. There is perhaps an echo of *Il.* 14.359 (Sleep speaks) μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμα κάλυψα; sleep and death are habitually associated, see Introduction, p. 23. The wish that the earth may lie 'light' upon the dead is one of the most common of all epitaphic topoi, cf. *636*, *GVI* 1389.2 (Hellenistic Rhodes) κούφη δέ τε γαῖα καλύπτοι, Lattimore 1942: 65–74, Introduction, p. 30.

6 [533] An iambic trimeter to accommodate Σαραπίωνος (◡ — ◡ — ◡); *SGO* 05/01/34 is another poem from Hellenistic Smyrna for Demetrios and his wife Σαραπιάς, and it too is in iambics. Later, however, Σαραπίωνα is allowed to begin a hexameter (*GVI* 854.2, *SGO* 13/07/05). **ὄβριμον:** a remarkable epithet for a two-year-old girl; in epic this is applied to heroes and objects like a spear, 'strong, mighty' (cf. Silk 1983: 325), and Page emended to ὀβρίμου so that it applies to Sarapion. Applied to Nikopolis, the sense is presumably something like 'remarkable, amazing', or perhaps 'vigorous' (cf. θάλος) but the term lacks a true parallel; Garulli 2008b points out that the application of ὄβριμον to a child fits with the novel expressions in 1.

LXVII *GVI* 947

A Hellenistic poem of unknown provenance, but very likely from the eastern Aegean: the dead girl's name, Syme, is otherwise known only as the name of the island north of Rhodes and its legendary eponym (*RE* 4A.1097–8). The inscription is very worn and uncertainty about some readings remains.

Bibl. Pfuhl–Möbius *Textband* I no. 399.

1–2 [534–5] ὑπὸ μητρὸς / χειρῶν '(guided/attended) by my mother's hands', see LSJ ὑπό A II 5. The bride's mother normally accompanied her daughter in the procession as far as the bridegroom's house, see Oakley–Sinos 1993: 34. The poem follows the expected sequence, which Syme did not live to enjoy: wedding procession, wedding-night (with the accompaniment of song outside the chamber), and then children, cf. LXII. Literary epitaphs play with the theme of the young woman who dies on her actual wedding-night, cf. e.g. Philip, *AP* 7.186 (= *GP* 2795–800), Thallus, *AP* 7.188 (= *GP* 3420–7).

3 [536] γάμου περικαλλέος ὕμνον: the adjective colours both nouns, but more naturally describes the song ('hypallage'); γάμου … ὕμνον in fact go closely together as 'wedding-hymn'. Homer uses περικαλλής only for people or objects (including musical instruments, *Il.* 1.603, *Od.* 1.153). **ἄκουσα:** unaugmented aorist.

4 [537] 'I did not wipe away my children's sweet laments with my robe'; πέπλοις was at first read as πότμοις, but the published photograph certainly suggests πέπλοις. The oxymoronic γλυκερὸν θρῆνον, a striking noun to use of the tearful complaints of a child, sadly caps the sequence of

missed events which Syme has outlined: there is now θρῆνος, but not the one she wanted to hear. We are perhaps to remember Achilles' likening of Patroclus to a tearful girl pursuing her mother for comfort at *Il.* 16.7–11. **ἔμαξα:** the standard meaning of μάσσω is 'press upon, knead', but 'wipe' seems possible at Theocr. 17.37 (with Hunter 2003: 128), *SGO* 03/01/03.1–2 ἧς ῥοδόπηχυς / Ἠὼς μαξαμέ[νη χεῖρας, *SEG* 30.1364.2; there is, however, no really close parallel for the current example.

6 [539] ὁδοῦ … ἡδυτάτην ἀτραπόν: lit. 'the very sweet path of your journey'; the passer-by is imagined to be on a journey that will bring him great pleasure, cf. e.g. *7*n., *8*. Elsewhere ὁδός and ἀτραπός can be opposed to each other, as the wide road to the narrow path.

7 [540] ἄγγελλε 'carry the message', see LX introductory n. **οἴκους:** poetic plural.

8 [541] '… and (tell her) not to …'. For the deceased's request to the living to cease from lamentation cf. *695*n.

9 [542] One of the most familiar motifs of consolation, cf. *GVI* 1549.1 (Hellenistic Rheneia) Πλωτία, οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ μούνηι λίνα Μοῖραι ἔ[κλωσα]ν, Lattimore 1942: 218. **Μοῖρ'** is here given a capital letter as 'Fate', the deity which spins our destiny, but the distinction from μοῖρα in 1, 'a terrible fate', is anything but firm. **ἐπέκλωσεν:** aorist of ἐπικλώθω, 'spin, assign as lot', cf. *253*, *345*. Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν is a very common verse-end in epitaphs, see Drew-Bear 1979, Lougovaya 2011.

10 [543] κρέσσονας: Ionic for κρείττονας. 'Greater people' than Syme are those of social or political importance. An expansion of this idea is one of the principal sources of humour in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*: however grand you are, you end up in the Underworld. **εἰν Ἀΐδηι** encloses a ring around the poem (cf. εἰς Ἀΐδην in 1) as does 1 μοῖρ' ~ 9 Μοῖρ'.

LXVIII *SGO* 01/01/07 = *IK* 41.303 = *GVI* 1874

A late Hellenistic poem from Knidos for Atthis, the deceased wife of Theios. There are four stanzas, marked off by empty lines on the stone, as also is a deceased wife's response in *SGO* 01/20/24 (Miletus, probably second century BC). As self-standing units, the four stanzas respond to each other and pick up recurrent themes. This is not simply a case of four 'separate' epitaphs for the same person; there is an emotional narrative running through the whole. The rhythmical and metrical skill of the whole is high; every hexameter has bucolic diaeresis (weakened in 13).

The four stanzas form patterns of similarity and difference: stanzas of four verses alternate with stanzas of six; the first two stanzas are addressed by Theios to his wife, the third by Atthis to him, and the final stanza offers a public statement about Atthis and the tomb by Theios, before a final turn back to second-person address. The first two stanzas therefore cohere as a unit, whereas the second two show a marked break after Atthis' speech (11–14). For the interchange of second and third person in an epitaph for a wife cf. e.g. LV. The three stanzas in which Theios addresses his wife all contain the names Theios and Atthis, whereas in the third stanza Atthis names only her husband; so too, Atthis' thoughts are entirely devoted to her husband, whereas Theios seems much more preoccupied with his own misery than with his dead wife's fate. To what extent this is the inevitable self-absorption of the survivor and to what extent familiar male self-importance (or both) may be debated, see further 13–14n.

A very remarkable feature of the poem is its dialect. The first and third stanzas show the standard features of the Ionic poetic tradition; with one exception in each case, however (εὐφροσύνης 6, ἠέλιον 20), the two longer stanzas exhibit the Doric long α rather than Ionic η, but no other markedly Doric features; there would, for example, be no reason to read οἰσῶ, a Doric future, rather than οἴσω or τέο for σέο in 19. All stanzas show the influence of the traditional poetic language descended from Homer. Knidos was a Dorian foundation (it is called the 'splendid bulwark of the Dorian land' in a Hellenistic poem from Mylasa, Marek–Zingg 2018: v. 108), and the dialectal colour of Knidian public inscriptions is Doric until well into the imperial period; other inscribed poetry from Knidos is either Doric or Ionic or occasionally a mixture. For dialectal mixture in general see Introduction, pp. 8–9.

The history and position of Knidos make the presence of Ionic speakers anything but surprising, but the regularity and persistence of the Ionic–Doric interchange in the poem for Atthis strongly suggests that particular effects were being sought; it is hard to believe that this variety is due simply to a stonecutter who occasionally slipped into the dialect more natural to him (see further below on v. 6). In the first and third stanzas, husband and wife address each other with Ionic forms, and that might suggest either that this was their natural 'dialect' and/or that the poet chose the standard language of the poetic tradition for this solemn exchange. The second stanza is also addressed by Theios to Atthis, but it is far more emotionally charged than the first and has very clear links with the structures and motifs of lament; it is, in effect, a brief elegiac lament. This raises the possibility that the Doric colouring of this stanza is intended to be generically appropriate; whether there was, or was believed to be, a connection between Doric dialect and lamentation has been much debated,

but Eur. *Andr.* 103–16 and Chariclo's impassioned distress in the elegiacs of Callimachus, *Hymn to Athena* (vv. 85–95) make a strong circumstantial case. Both of these texts are elegiac, and the second stanza of the Knidian poem activates a link between elegy and mourning, which is, in any case, always present, if usually latent, in funerary epigram, see further Hunter 1992a: 18–22, Rossi 1999. The Doric hexameter laments of the bucolic tradition (Theocritus 1, Bion, *Lament for Adonis* and [Moschus], *Lament for Bion*) may well have strengthened for the Knidian poet a link between Doric colouring and lamentation. Kaibel's correction of εὐφροσύνης in 6 to the Doric form at least deserves a place in the apparatus, and there are many places in our corpus of funerary epigrams where a lamentatory colouring may explain Doric forms, see, e.g. Dickie 1994: 117–18. Whether the special character of the second stanza has anything to do with the fact that it is the only stanza in which (apparently) pentameters are not always indented (*eisthesis*) is unclear.

The Doric forms of the final stanza may reflect the norms of Knidian monuments or may show that the 'restraint' of the opening stanza, which is not out of keeping with the emotional level of much inscribed epigram, no longer suits Theios' mournful mood. The final declaration of 19–20, in which Theios expresses his decision to live rather than to die, then appropriately reverts to the Ionic of the opening stanza. The search for meaning behind this poem's dialectal variation is inevitably speculative and the results fragile; this unusually long and unusually complex poem, however, invites such speculation.

For comparable poems of dialogue between a dead woman and her family see *SGO* 01/20/24 (above, p. 205), and LXX below.

Bibl. Zumin 1975: 375–7, Hanink 2010 (with photograph), 2017.

1 [544] λάϊνα ... τύμβων δωμήματα: lit. 'built stone structures of tombs'. δώμημα is a very rare word, cf. *IK* 33.63 (Mysia, early imperial) ... τάδε πὰρ τύμβωι δωμήματα δακρυόεντα / βωμῶν καὶ στήλης, but it perhaps suits the relatively impressive structure which seems to have housed Atthis' tomb (see Hanink 2010: 17). Zingerle 1931: 73–4 proposed δωρήματα, cf. δωρήματι τύμβου on a very fragmentary Lycian inscription (*TAM* II 205), *SGO* 08/08/07 (imperial Mysia) πὰρ τύμβωι δωρήματα ... / βωμῶν καὶ στήλης; with this reading λάϊνα would be principally understood with τύμβων by 'hypallage'. Change seems, however, unnecessary, and ἔτευξα perhaps suits the inscribed reading. **Θεῖος**, lit. 'Uncle', is a very rare name (*LGPN* offers only two other examples); whether this has anything to do with the difference in age from his dead wife (2) is unclear.

2 [545] Ἀτθίς: nominative for vocative, cf. 5, *410*, *452*, *SGO* 01/20/32 Κοναλλίς, *GVI* 1913.1, K–G I 47–8, Schmidt 1968: 89–95; this is common with names and nouns in -ίς, but there is no reason to doubt πρόφασι in 6. Atthis, lit. 'Attic Girl', is not a very common name (Sappho frr. 49.1, 96.16); *LGPN* II identifies only two examples from Athens. The name might be bestowed on any slave woman from Attica (cf. *SGO* 08/01/36, with Gow–Page on *GP* 2232–7), but there is no clear indication that our Atthis is associated with Attica. **ὁ δὶς τῆς σῆς ἡλικίης προγέρων** 'an old man twice your age'; the genitive will be a kind of genitive of comparison, perhaps influenced by προ- in the otherwise unattested compound προγέρων. The expression is at least awkward and Kaibel's προτερῶν, the present participle of προτερεῖν, 'being twice in advance of your age', deserves consideration; the expression would then be a variation for the more prosaic ὁ δὶς τῆι ἡλικίηι σοῦ προτερῶν. Τ and Γ are easy to confuse, and γέρων is in the context an easy enough slip to explain.

3 [546] Theios naturally expected that Atthis would arrange his burial (apparently an inhumation rather than a cremation). The expression conjures up the idea that Atthis herself would bury the corpse, or at least take part in the burial, cf. Longus, *D&C* 1.31.3 (the burial of Dorcon) γῆν μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἐπέθεσαν; it is tempting to associate this notion with ritualised throwing of handfuls of earth over the coffin by close relatives, as happens in some modern cultures, and see Alexiou 2002: 44.

3–4 [546–7] For such outbursts cf. Eur. *Alc.* 384 ὦ δαῖμον, οἵας συζύγου μ᾽ ἀποστερεῖς (bitterly ironic in the circumstances), Theodoridas, *AP* 7.439.1 [= *HE* 3532] ἄκριτε Μοῖρα, *IGUR* III 1148.3–4 βάσκανε δαῖμον, / οἵας οὐχ ὁσίως ἐλπίδας ἐξέταμες, *GVI* 1944.3–4 ὦ δαῖμον φθονόλεθρε κτλ., Catullus 3.13–14 *at uobis male sit, malae tenebrae / Orci, quae omnia bella deuoratis*. In his prescription for the rhetorical μονωιδία, 'lament', Menander Rhetor notes 'at the beginning one must make complaints (σχετλιάζειν) against the spirits (δαίμονας) and unjust fate' (435.10–11 Sp. = 202 R–W). **ἄκριτε** 'undiscriminating, lacking judgement', see *493*n. **ἔσβεσας ἠέλιον:** cf. *611–12* τύμβος ἀπεχθής, / ὃς τὸν ἐμῶν τοκετῶν ἔσβεσεν ἠέλιον. The extinguishing of light is a very common image in Greek lamentation, see Alexiou 2002: 153, 168, 177, 187–9. Callimachus puts the idea to a new use in his epitaphic poem for Heraclitus, *Epigr.* 2 (= *HE* 1203–8).

5 [548] The idea that a loved one's last breath or soul could be caught by the mouth of his or her lover, as a kind of 'last kiss', is very common in Latin texts, see Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.684, Reed on Bion, *EA* 44–50. Apparent Greek examples are few: Bion, *EA* 47, Longus, *D&C* 1.30.1,

GVI 739 (dying husband), *SEG* 26.1217 (dying wife), Lebek 1976; *73* shows the much simpler form of 'leaving the breath'. Why the Latin examples are so much more numerous is unclear; influence from Latin to Greek, whether of literature or real practice or both, is not impossible. The whole verse amounts to 'Atthis, who lived and died for me ...'. In LXXIV (Sardinia, early empire), a wife exchanges her life for that of her husband, as he was 'releasing the breath from his limbs', cf. *626, 631–2*nn.

6 [549] The contrast between past and present is a very common structure in lamentation, see *288*n., Alexiou 2002: 165–71.

7–9 [550–2] Such questioning reproofs or 'complaints' to the dead are another standard motif of Greek lament, see Alexiou 2002: 161–5, 182–4, Hanink 2010: 26–7.

7 [550] ἁγνά: the meaning is probably 'chaste' (LSJ II 1), i.e. 'faithful' to me, cf. 8n., though this is much more commonly used of young, unmarried women, 'virgins', than of married women; for the latter cf. *SEG* 2.656 (Smyrna, late Hellenistic) πιστοτάτην καὶ ἁγνοτάτην (a husband honours his dead wife), 26.1217 (imperial Spain) ἁγνῆς, ἐρατῆς, καλῆς (of a dead wife), 48.1428. It is possible that Latin *pia*, a standard designation for wives (*OLD* 3b), has been influential on some of these late examples. The dead are often referred to by such expressions as 'the holy chorus of heroes', and a Knidian poem of the fourth century BC refers to the 'holy house' of Plouton (*SGO* 01/01/10), but it seems unlikely that ἁγνά could merely indicate Atthis' status as one of the honoured dead. **πουλυγόητε**, which is not attested elsewhere, is perhaps modelled on the Homeric πολυδάκρυτος (*Il.* 17.192, 24.620 of Hector); πολυκλαύτωι in 15 is a further variant on the idea. πουλυ- is an epic form (K–B I 533–4) inherited by the subsequent poetic language. **τί πένθιμον ὕπνον ἰαύεις:** a common form of hexameter ending, cf. *HHAphr.* 177 (Aphrodite to Anchises) τί νυ νήγρετον ὕπνον ἰαύεις;, *HHHermes* 289 ὕστατον ὕπνον ἰαύσηις, Theocr. 3.49 ὁ τὸν ἄτροπον ὕπνον ἰαύων, Call. fr. 75.2 προνύμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι. There need not be a specific model here, though a Knidian poet is likely to have known the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* very well.

8 [551] The sleep of death leads naturally to memories of how Theios and Atthis used to 'sleep together'. The fact that Atthis 'never moved her head from her husband's chest' proves the claim in ἁγνά. In the epitaphic poem for Lesbia's *passer*, Catullus claims *nec sese a gremio illius mouebat*, 3.8.

9 [552] ἐρημώσασα: cf. *GVI* 1927.1 γῆρας ἐρημώσασα πατρὸς νέκυς κτλ. At Eur. *Alc.* 944–9 Admetus says that ἐρημία inside the house, as he looks at the empty bed where Alcestis used to be, will make life intolerable; cf. also *Alc.* 925 λέκτρων κοίτας ἐς ἐρήμους. Menander Rhetor (see 3–4 n.) says that, if the dead person is a member of the speaker's family, the latter should 'lament his own desolation (ἐρημία)', 434.26 Sp. = 202 R–W. **τὸν οὐκέτι** is another motif which Theios shares with Euripides' Admetus, cf. *Alc.* 278; Alcestis too refers to both herself and the dead more generally as 'the no longer' or 'those who are no longer' (*Alc.* 271–2, 322, 387, 392). It is a standard motif of laments to describe typical actions which the dead or their family will 'no longer' do, cf. *444*n., Theocr. 1.116–17, [Moschus], *EB* 20–1, or to regret that the sun will 'no longer' look upon the dead, cf. *SEG* 16.532, 49.1350; Theios' self-description is a harshly blunt version of the motif, here applied to the survivor, not to the dead. **Ἅιδαν:** the Doric accusative of the disyllabic form Ἅιδης, which often appears as Ἅδης on inscriptions.

10 [553] rounds off Theios' lament by essentially repeating the conclusion of the opening stanza.

11–14 [554–7] Merkelbach–Stauber suggest that we might understand that Atthis appears to Theios in a dream to speak to him. The motif of the dead returning in a dream is familiar, with Achilles' dream of Patroclus in *Il.* 23 the most famous case; in LXXIII (Smyrna, early imperial) a mother pleads with the Underworld powers to allow her to see her dead daughter 'in a dream', and in LXXIX (Lydia, date uncertain) a daughter killed by lightning appears to her mother 'in the darkest night' and urges her to cease from lamentation (see Hunter 2018: 19–20). For the consoling (and physically relieving) appearance of a dead wife to her husband in a dream cf. Eur. *Alc.* 354–5, Prop. 4.11.81–4.

11 [554] Λήθης: see *472*n.; the genitive is partitive, 'drink from …'. For the idea that the dead do not drink Lethe and therefore remember cf. *GVI* 1090.10 (Egypt, second century AD) Λήθης οὐκ ἔπιον λιβάδα (but I dwell in Elysium, etc.), *AP* 7.346.3–4 σὺ δ', εἰ θέμις, ἐν φθιμένοισι / τοῦ Λήθης ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ['as far as concerns me'] μή τι πίῃς πόματος; at *On grief* 5 Lucian quips that those who have reported to us about the Underworld, such as Theseus and Odysseus, cannot have drunk from Lethe, for otherwise they would have had no memory of what they had seen. **Ἀϊδωνίδος**, a word not attested elsewhere, is a feminine form from Ἀϊδωνεύς, a poetic name for Hades. It is perhaps just 'belonging to Hades', rather than 'daughter of Hades', as it has often been understood; Hades had no children in

Greek mythology. **ἔσχατον ὕδωρ:** a draught of Lethe is usually the very last drink the 'ordinary dead' will have.

12 [555] A purpose clause with a vivid and emphatic subjunctive, despite ἔπιον, cf. *CGCG* 45.3; the optative was fast disappearing, even from the language of poetry. **παρηγορίην** reverses the normal situation in which the living seek consolation for their loss. The reversal descends in some sense from Achilles in the Underworld of *Od.* 11, who tells Odysseus not to try to console (παραυδᾶν) him for death (488), but then does find pleasure in tales of the exploits of his son (538–40); at Prop. 4.11.63 the dead Cornelia addresses her sons as *meum post fata leuamen.* In reality, of course, Theios himself here draws consolation from the conceit that his wife has her memories of him as consolation. That Atthis does still have her husband in some form, if only as a consoling memory, is important to the rhetoric by which Theios 'seeks permission' from her to continue living, as he will state at the end of the poem.

13–14 [556–7] At Eur. *Alc.* 935–61 Admetus argues that his fate is more unfortunate than Alcestis', because she is now beyond the reach of grief, whereas he must live with the desolation and disgrace of what has happened, see Introduction, pp. 31–2. Here, Theios puts a related argument in his wife's mouth; this is not just self-pity (though it is that too). That his dead wife knows of his misery and that he is more wretched than she is eases the guilt of the survivor and justifies to the world at large the ostentatious display of misery. **γάμων … τῶν ἀμιάντων:** a very unusual expression, apparently picking up the same idea as ἁγνά in 7. 'Unstained' of a marriage finds its closest parallels in Christian descriptions of virgins and of the pure life, cf. *Ep. Hebr.* 13.4 τίμιος ὁ γάμος … καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος, Lampe s.v. ἀμίαντος.

15–18 [558–61] are no longer addressed to Atthis, but seem to be a public declaration by Theios of his responsibility for the memorial; 18, however, forms a transition back to the personal theme of the final couplet.

15–16 [558–9] 'This [monument] <is> the reward to the much lamented Atthis for her chastity, though it is not equal to it nor worthy of her virtue, but I set it up …'. **σαοφροσύνας:** this Doric form (with σω-) occurs on an honorary decree from Hellenistic Knidos (*IK* 41.11). **πολυκλαύτωι:** largely a poetic adjective, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 674 ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών; at *623* (Sardinia, imperial) it is used of Hyakinthos.

17–18 [560–1] μνάμαν εἰς αἰῶνα φερώνυμον 'a memorial bearing her name for ever'. μνήμη / μνάμα is normally 'memory, remembrance', as

in the standard phrase μνήμης χάριν, whereas 'memorial, monument' is μνῆμα, μνημεῖον; the rare exceptions include *IGUR* II 306, III 1154 (both second/third century AD), cf. *237*n. Here the ideas of 'monument', primarily suggested by φερώνυμον, and 'remembrance' are perfectly naturally combined; μνάμαν εἰς αἰῶνα varies μνάμαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, which is a common phrase in honorific decrees. In a poem from (probably) Hellenistic Megiste (Castellorizo) one Timon had his own tomb (μνᾶμα, σᾶμα) built to prepare μνάμα αἰώνιος for himself (Heberdey–Kalinka 1896: 19). **φερώνυμον** 'bearing the name' more usually means 'named after X' than (as here) 'displaying X's name'. The monument of course bears Theios' name even more prominently than Atthis'. **αὐτὸς ἀνάγκαι … χαριζόμενος** 'myself, Theios, necessarily bestowing my breath upon our child'. At Eur. *Alc.* 378 Admetus tells Alcestis that, with her death, there is 'much necessity' upon him to become 'mother' to their children; cf. Prop. 4.11.75 *fungere maternis uicibus pater.* As becomes clearer in 19–20, Theios presumably here implies that, were it not for their child, he would kill himself. πνεῦμα χαριζόμενος, another very unusual phrase, to some extent reverses the motif of 5; there, 'leaving breath' indicated death, here 'breath' marks continued life. It is striking that the child is brought in so late in the poem and that Atthis is not made to mention her child; Theios wants her to be thinking of him alone.

19 [562] οἴσω: cf. Simaitha's resolution to carry on after the narrative of her unhappiness at Theocr. 2.164, ἐγὼ δ' οἰσῶ τὸν ἐμὸν πόθον ὥσπερ ὑπέσταν. For Theios the sun will indeed continue to shine, despite 4, though its light will bring him no pleasure. **καὶ τοῦτο:** probably, at least primarily, 'carrying on living', rather than 'looking after our child'. **χάριν σέο:** χάριν normally follows the noun it governs, but pre-position is well attested, see LSJ χάρις VI 1. σέο is a genitive form inherited from Homer. **ἀπηνῆ** 'cruel, unyielding'.

20 [563] στυγνοῖς 'sad, sullen', cf. *Il.* 22.483, Eur. *Alc.* 777 (both contexts of mourning), *Hipp.* 290, Maccius, *AP* 5.130.1 [= *GP* 2488], [Moschus], *EA* 4, 67 (mourning); at *GVI* 1631.4 (Thrace, second century AD) a mother whose daughter has died is described as στυγνὸν ἔχουσα φάος and cf. Bernand 32.4 στυγνὴ δ' εἰς Ἀχέροντ' ἔμολες. στυγνός is found in many different contexts of death and the Underworld.

LXIX *GVI* 1363

A probably late Hellenistic poem from the Doric island of Astypalaia; it was carved on the marble lintel of a tomb (Rouse 1906). Under the lintel, but

separated from the poem, is Κλευμάτρας, 'of Kleomatra', the only example of this name recorded in *LGPN* (Κλεοπάτρα is of course very common). If this is the name of a dead woman, it is surprising that much about the poem, including the speaking voice and the address to (masculine) φίλοι, would otherwise probably have suggested that the deceased was a man. This may indicate something about Kleomatra and/or her lifestyle (and her very rare name might be relevant here). Another possibility is that this poem was not originally written for Kleomatra but has been 'borrowed' for her tomb, perhaps because she or her family liked the poem and its message; that Kleomatra was the name not of the deceased but of the poet is possible, but seems unlikely from the position of the name on the marble block.

There is a rich tradition of literature attacking ordinary sacrificial and funerary practices, cf. e.g. Men. *Dysk.* 447–55. Close in spirit to our poem is *AP* 11.8, an anonymous poem of uncertain date:

> μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεφάνους λιθίναις στήλαισι χαρίζου·
>   μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξῃς· ἐς κενὸν ἡ δαπάνη.
> ζῶντί μοι, εἴ τι θέλεις, χάρισαι· τέφρην δὲ μεθύσκων
>   πηλὸν ποιήσεις, κοὐχ ὁ θανὼν πίεται.

> Offer no perfume, no garlands to my stone pillar; burn no fire. This is pointless expense. Give me something, if you want, while I am alive. If you make ashes drunk, you will have mud, and the dead do not drink.

Crönert 1910 asserted that the poem from Astypalaia was an imitation of *AP* 11.8, but that does not seem necessary, although a version of *AP* 11.8 is also incorporated into a longer Roman epitaph of the third or fourth century AD debunking beliefs about the afterlife and funerary practices (*IGUR* III 1245). Many related themes appear in Lucian's *On grief* (40 Macleod): people believe that ghosts 'are nourished by our libations and burned offerings at tombs', and so ghosts without living φίλοι go hungry (9), whereas in fact the dead have no hunger or thirst (cf. *713–14*n.) and do not drink (16, 19). The theme of the pointlessness of offering food and drink to the dead is connected with the *carpe diem* theme that, while alive, one should enjoy life in the present moment, for there is no pleasure after death, cf. *SH* 335 (Sardanapallos), Strato, *AP* 11.19, Rohland forthcoming, Introduction, pp. 32–3.

Bibl. Crönert 1910, Wypustek 2013: 21–2.

1 [564] μή μοι πεῖν φέρεθ' 'do not bring me something to drink'; for this common construction of the infinitive cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 257, 561, Xen. *Hell.*

7.2.9, Smyth §2008, K–G ii 16. Drink and food offerings to the dead, who were very often imagined as thirsty (see *714*n.), were one of the most common graveside rituals, see e.g. Lattimore 1942: 127–9, Garland 2001: 110–15; fifth-century regulations from Ceos prohibit more than three *chous* of wine to be taken to the tomb at a funeral (Sokolowski 1969: no. 97A.8–9). πεῖν is a colloquial form of the aorist infinitive πιεῖν, arising from itacistic pronunciation of the final diphthong. This may be the earliest known example; it occurs first in literature at Lucillius, *AP* 11.140.3 (= 49.3 Floridi), and cf. also *Frag. Mim.* 6.66 Cunningham, Heraeus 1915, Floridi 2014: 272–3. As also in Lucillius, the colloquialism here has a point: the dead brusquely dismisses the idea of drink or food offerings in straightforward language which does not permit misunderstandings. In the comic view of women, drink is the last thing they would refuse, even when dead; for epigrams on death from drinking see *86*–7n., Cairns 2016: 243–65, Sens 2020: 97. **ὧδε** 'hither', 'to this place'. **μάτην:** any drink offering would just be wasted, cf. *AP* 11.8.2 (above). Some editors take μάτην with πέποται, but sense ('I drank and it did me no good ...' ?), rhythm and the position of γάρ are against this. **πέποται** 'there has been drinking', an impersonal passive, cf. *CGCG* 36.13.

2 [565] ἀρκεῖ: sc. <μοι>, 'enough!'. **φλήναφος** 'rubbish, nonsense', cf. Men. fr. 372.5–6, human forethought is καπνὸς / καὶ φλήναφος, Ar. *Clouds* 365 τἄλλα δὲ πάντ᾽ ἐστὶ φλύαρος. A very similar thought is put in the mouth of a dead woman at *SGO* 18/15/13.3 (imperial Side) πάντα γάρ, ὅσσα φέρεις βρώμης χάριν, ἐστὶ κενὴ φλόξ.

3–6 [566–9] Two interpretations seem possible. (i) φέρεσθε is the verb of the if-clause, and the apodosis is ταῦτ᾽ ἐνέρων, with the verb 'to be' understood; this necessitates only weak punctuation at the end of 5; (ii) φέρεσθε is the imperative, and the if-clause has no main verb: 'But if .... <you want to bring something>, bring ...'; ταῦτ᾽ ἐνέρων is, then, a statement on its own, detached from what precedes. Despite the anacoluthon, (ii) seems in fact more natural and is adopted here.

3 [566] ἕνεκεν μνήμης evokes the most common formulas of commemoration on Greek funerary inscriptions, μνήμης ἕνεκα and μνήμης χάριν; the formulaic quality may explain why μνήμης is not given in Doric form. The dead here acknowledges that those left behind do want to carry out some ritual act of remembrance; the advice is kinder than just 'but if you really want to do your duty ...'. **καὶ ὧν ἐβίωσα** 'and <for the sake of> what I experienced in life'; ὧν replaces αὐτῶν (or ἐκείνων) ἅ. For such an accusative after βιοῦν cf. Dem. 18.130 with Wankel's n.

4 [567] Saffron and incense (to be burned together) make a suitably humble offering, cf. Men. *Dysk.* 449 (with Sandbach's n. on 450), *RE* 1A.1728–31 s.v. Safran. **φέρεσθε:** the middle differs very little in resonance from the active.

5 [568] τοῖς μ᾽ ὑποδεξαμένοις: i.e. the gods of the Underworld, to whom, in any case, one did not normally pour libations of wine, see Stengel 1910: 129–30, Henrichs 1983.

6 [569] ἐνέρων: a high, poetic word, cf. *595*n. **ζώντων δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἔχουσι νεκροί:** lit. 'the dead have nothing which belongs to the living', i.e. 'the dead have (no need for) anything which the living have'.

LXX Bernand 33 = *GVI* 1873

A probably late Hellenistic poem from Heracleopolis Magna near Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. The poem consists of three stanzas or sections: the first is either spoken by an anonymous 'narrator' or by the dead Ammonia herself, speaking in a reserved and formal voice, and avoiding all personal pronouns; the second is an emotional lament by Ammonia's widower, Harmodios, and in the third Ammonia addresses her husband and urges him to stop grieving. The poem bears obvious similarities to LXVIII from late Hellenistic Knidos, in which three stanzas are spoken by the widower and one by the dead wife, Atthis. The stylistic level of the Knidian poem is, however, persistently higher than this for Ammonia, see e.g. 11, 19nn.

Whereas the stanzas of the Knidian poem are marked off merely by empty space on the stone and four inscribed epitaphs for a dead boy from late Hellenistic Lakonia are separated by *paragraphoi* in the left margin of the stone between individual poems (*GVI* 2003), the stanzas here are separated both by an empty line and by ἄλλο, written in smaller letters and centred in that otherwise empty line. This pattern is familiar from papyrus anthologies of epigrams, where it is used to separate different poems on the same subject or poems by different authors; in inscriptions, it seems very largely restricted to later, imperial age groups of poems (see Robert 1948: 81–2, Fantuzzi 2010: 310 n.62), with the exceptions of this poem and *SGO* 09/05/16, where, however, the relation between the different sections is quite different (see Fantuzzi 2008). Its use here to separate what are clearly sections of one poem may be an 'erroneous' borrowing from the practice of book collections; the purpose would probably be to increase the impressiveness of the monument for Ammonia.

Bibl. Zucker 1954, Hanink 2010: 21–2, Garulli 2014: 153–4.

1 [570] ἀστὴν Ναυκράτεως: Ammonia's parents were citizens of Naucratis, the old Greek trading port at the western edge of the Nile delta, cf. Hdt. 2.178–9. Apollonius of Rhodes wrote a hexameter 'Foundation of Naucratis' (frr. 7–9 Powell), and the city's pride in its Greek traditions is reflected in Ammonia's father's name. **Μενελάου πατρός** involves a breach of Naeke's Law (*88–9*n.), here softened by the close bond of the two words. Ammonia's father took his name from a Greek hero with very close associations with Egypt, cf. *Od.* 4.351–592, Hdt. 2.118–19, Eur. *Helen*, etc.

2 [571] ξείνην εὔξεινος: the jingle stresses the friendly hospitality which Herakleopolis extended to the new bride. **χθὼν … Ἡρακλέους:** the city probably took its name from a Greek identification between Heracles and the principal local god, see Griffiths 1970: 441–2.

3 [572] ὠμοτόκοις suggests both the savagery of the premature pains and the fact that the birth itself miscarried, cf. Dion. Hal. *AR* 9.40.2 ὠμοτοκοῦσαί τε γὰρ καὶ νεκρὰ τίκτουσαι, *GVI* 567.2 ὠμὸ[ν ἔτ'] ὠδινῶν φόρτον ἀει[ρο]μένην, and the medical term ὠμοτοκία for miscarriage. Callimachus describes the (successful) birth-pains of a fierce lioness as ὠμοτόκους ὠδῖνας (*h.* 4.120), see Hopkinson on *h.* 6.51–2. **πανυστατίοιο:** πανυστάτιος, rather than πανύστατος, first appears at Call. *h.* 5.54, though Homer already has ὑστάτιος; we cannot assume that it is a 'Callimachean coinage' (Bulloch ad loc.), but this, together with ὠμοτόκοις ὠδῖσι, at least raises the possibility that someone in Herakleopolis had been reading Callimachus' *Hymns*.

4 [573] δμηθεῖσαν is to be taken with both dative phrases, though principally with the first. **Μοιρέων:** cf. *251*n.

6 [575] κτερίσας 'having performed the burial rites'. **ἐπέκρυψε:** the compound is very rare, but change to the equally rare ἐνέκρυψε (Peek) is unwarranted.

8 [577] οἷς εἴη 'whose fate may it be …'. **λιπαροῦ γήραος** denotes the kind of old age that one would wish for oneself and one's dear ones, cf. *Od.* 19.368, Pind. *Nem.* 7.99, and the description of Odysseus' future at *Od.* 11.136 = 23.283. The adjective was understood to mean both 'happy' and 'prosperous', cf. Isidorus, *Hymn* 3.9–11 οὗτοι σοὶ ἐπέχοντες ἄχρι τε γήρως / λαμπρὸν καὶ λιπαρὸν καταλείποντες πολὺν ὄλβον / υἱάσι θ' υἱωνοῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσι

τοῖσι μεταῦτις, *GVI* 1449.3–4 (Hellenistic Chalcis) λιπαρὸς δέ τοι ὄλβος ὀπίσσω / παίδων τ᾽ ἀκμαία λείπεται ἁλικία. **ἄχρι** here follows its noun.

9 [578] ὡς ἔθος marks consciousness of epitaphic tradition and suggests why the passer-by should comply with an entirely ordinary request, cf. *SGO* 03/02/68.11–12.

10 [579] σώιζου 'return safe', see LSJ II 2. Ammonia will never return safe, either to Naucratis or to Herakleopolis. **ἀβλαβέως:** cf. *SGO* 05/01/35.7–8 (Hellenistic Smyrna) σὺ δ᾽ ἀείσας "Δημοκλέος υἱέα χαίρειν / Δημοκλέα" στείχοις ἀβλαβὲς ἴχνος ἔχων, 530.3, 1302.4, Bernand 3.6 μηθὲν ταρβήσας ἀσφαλέως ἄπιθι.

11 [580] Harmodios presents the marriage as the result of his 'desire' for Ammonia; this is much less usual than, as in the poem for Atthis, the celebration of marital love itself. The verse picks up the theme of Ammonia as a ξείνη from the opening of the first section. **σ᾽ οὑμὸς πόθος:** word order joins the couple together, cf. 16. **ἠλλοτρίωσεν** 'deprived', almost 'alienated', a prosaic term to express the loneliness of marriage for a Greek girl away from where she grew up.

12 [581] ἐστέρεσεν differs pointedly from ἠλλοτρίωσεν, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 384 ὦ δαῖμον, οἵας συζύγου μ᾽ ἀποστερεῖς.

13 [582] λιπούσης: the inscribed λιποῦσαν presumably arose from 7; it is, however, not impossible that the grammatical 'error' goes back to the poet, who linked the participle to σε in 11.

15–16 [584–5] The distraught husband expresses his grief through the use of his own name, '(your) Harmodios'; the tone here is very like that of Theios' appeals to Atthis in LXVIII. **ἐγὼ σοῦ** forms a ring of closeness around the section, cf. 11n. **δίχα** commonly follows the noun or pronoun which it governs.

17 [586] For the request to stop grieving cf. *695*n., Introduction, p. 7. **στερνοτύποιο:** στερνοτύπος, rather than στερνοτυπής, is a late form, cf. *GVI* 1006.5 (late Hellenistic), στερνοτύποις ἀνίαις ἄλυρον μέλος αἰάζουσα, Peek 1974: 21; though 'breast-beating' is common to both genders as an expression of grief (cf. e.g. Bernand 67.5–6, *SEG* 28.521), Ammonia's voice perhaps suggests that Harmodios' laments are not only purposeless, but also a little unmanly, cf. Antipater, *AP* 7.711.8 (= *HE* 555) στερνοτυπῆ πάταγον (female lament). **με δακρύων,** 'crying for me', picks up 13; here, however, the first syllable of δακρυ- remains short.

18 [587] ἐπιστενάχει: second person singular present imperative of ἐπιστεναχέω.

19 [588] ἐφικτόν: sc. ἐστί, 'it is possible, achievable'; the expression is very common in Hellenistic prose.

20 [589] Postpositive γάρ blurs the central caesura of the pentameter, cf. *193*.

21–4 [590–3] Ammonia concludes her advice to her husband with an asyndetic series of short, quasi-gnomic pieces of wisdom; she speaks with the authority of someone who knows and in striking contrast to Harmodios' emotional distress.

21–2 [590–1] 'My home (οἰκία, neuter plural) is that of the dead; it allows no return to the light of day'. Bernand reads 21 as a single utterance, with ταῦτα standing alone in the sense 'That's it, such (is life)' (for which see Robert 1937: 390, LSJ οὗτος C VII 4), but that seems out of keeping with Ammonia's tone here. **ἀνεπίστροφα** 'allowing no return'; the thought is very common, though the word is not otherwise attested in this sense. **μάτην:** this consolatory thought occurs as early as *Il.* 24.524 οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο. **ἐνδέδεσαι**, 'you are bound to, held fast by', second person singular perfect passive of ἐνδέω; Harmodios is so 'tied up in' the chains of grief that he is unable to do anything else.

23–4 [592–3] 'Put up with what fate offers until the end, a gift which no mortal can avoid'; μοίρης probably depends on τά, 'the things of fate', rather than on τέλους, and δόσιν is in apposition to τὰ … μοίρης. Punctuation after τέλους has attractions (cf. *SEG* 15.861), 'put up with what you have to the end', but μοίρης δόσιν would give awkward word order and the accusative can only be explained as an apposition. **ὑπόκειται** 'is set aside/reserved for', LSJ II 4.

LXXI *SGO* 03/06/07 = *GVI* 1551

A poem from late Hellenistic Teos for Stratonike, who apparently died suddenly during a festival for Demeter. This circumstance allows the poet to present Stratonike as a 'second Persephone' who might well incur the jealousy of the real one. On the strength of the poem, it has been attractively suggested that the festival included an acting-out of the rape of Persephone, as most familiar to us from *HHDem.*; this is not strictly

necessary, though 7–8 make it not unlikely. That this is a real epitaph, i.e. that Stratonike did not 'die' just as part of a re-enactment of the story of Persephone, seems assured by the detail of 3–5, by the fact that she was a married woman and therefore no 'exact match' for Persephone, and by the fact that the poem was inscribed and presumably displayed publicly. The story of Persephone, particularly as enshrined in *HHDem.*, was foundational for the epitaphic tradition for women as a whole (see e.g. Tsagalis 2008: 100–10, Hunter 2019: 145–9), and this poem plays almost self-consciously with that literary history. Hesiod fr. 26 (= 23 Most) tells of a Stratonike, one of the daughters of Porthaon, who was abducted by Apollo to be wife to his son Melaneus, while she was gathering flowers on Parnassus with her sisters; there is a clear parallel to the fate of Persephone, but there is no indication that LXXI plays with that parallelism.

Teos was an important Ionian coastal city. Its major divinity was Dionysus, and the guild of 'Artists of Dionysus' played a significant role in public life (see *RE* 5A.560–4). There is very little other evidence for the cult of Demeter. The Doric colour of the poem is very striking (cf. also *SGO* 03/06/03, 06), given that Teos was an Ionian city, see Introduction, pp. 8–9.

Bibl. Demangel–Laumonier 1922: 344–6 (*editio princeps* with photo).

1 [594] στέλλεο: the meaning is not certain. In late and Christian texts στέλλεσθαι may mean 'avoid', 'keep away from', cf. 2 *Cor.* 8.20 στελλόμενοι τοῦτο, Lampe s.v.; that would be appropriate here, but the usage is weakly attested. 'Make yourself ready for' is possible (LSJ I), with simple ζᾶλον taking the place of e.g. ἐπὶ ζᾶλον. The verb may also sometimes be close to 'check, repress' (LSJ IV 2), and Merkelbach–Stauber translate 'besäntftige' ('soothe, calm'). **χρυσέα** 'lovely, wonderful', see LSJ IIIa. Stratonike shares her epithet, above all, with Aphrodite. **Στρατονίκ[α]** is perhaps more likely than -νίκ[η], given the dialectal colour of the poem.

2 [595] σὰν ... ἀγλαΐαν 'your splendour', i.e. 'you in your splendour', cf. 8; the noun combines ideas of beauty and renown, cf. e.g. *AP* 7.328.2. At *Od.* 18.180 Penelope tells Eurynome, who is urging her to make herself more 'presentable', that the gods took away her ἀγλαΐη when Odysseus went to Troy; that passage was probably influential on epitaphic descriptions of women (see 5–6n.). **ἄναξ ἐνέρων:** ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς forms the second half of a hexameter at *Il.* 20.61 and *HHDem.* 357, the most important model for the Tean poem, cf. also *IGUR* III 1269 = *GVI* 1410. ἄναξ ἐνέρων occurs in the same position of a pentameter in the roughly contemporary *GVI* 1517 from Thasos, in which the dead girl is also addressed as ἀγλαΐας

σύντροφε. **ἅρπασεν:** unaugmented aorist; this is the standard verb for Hades 'snatching away' young girls, cf. *681*n., *HHDem.* 3, 19, etc.

3–4 [596–7] are framed by the two participles denoting desolation. **ὁμόλεκτρον:** see *484*n. **Ἀριστώνακτα:** a well-attested name in Ionia; *LGPN* va lists 5 in Ephesos and 3 in Teos (including this one). **ἁβρᾶς παιδός** is focalised by Stratonike's mother, Eirene: this is how she used to view her now dead daughter. **ἀπορφανίσας:** the only attested example of the active of this verb before Origen.

5–6 [598–9] Stratonike's father was probably Ἀρτέμων or Ἀρτεμᾶς (both very common names), rather than (say) Ἀρτεμίδωρος, as neither can be used in an elegiac couplet, thus necessitating the present circumlocution; for other such strategies see *204*n. The fact that he needs no explicit naming also suggests his local renown: this is a well known family. For the cult of Artemis at Teos, which was close to the cult centre at Ephesos, see *RE* 5A.564. **νούσων / τακεδόνες:** the wasting characteristic of long illnesses (cf. e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 203) is contrasted with a swift and sudden death. The poet here evokes Antikleia's address to her son, Odysseus, in the Underworld (*Od.* 11.198–201). She tells him that she was not killed by Artemis' 'gentle arrows' (ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν), nor by illness: οὔτε τις οὖν μοι νοῦσος ἐπήλυθεν, ἥ τε μάλιστα / τηκεδόνι στυγερῆι μελέων ἐξείλετο θυμόν. In the present poem also, we move (though rather differently) from Artemis, who was commonly associated with the sudden death of women, to various possible forms of death. *Od.* 11.201 is the only occurrence of τηκεδών in Homer, and it is also echoed at *GVI* 1735.6 (a late Hellenistic poem which explicitly engages with Homer). At *GVI* 867.6 (= *HE* 1744) a woman dies of grief for the loss of her husband, ψυχῆς δύσφρονι τηκεδόνι. **δάμασσε:** an unaugmented aorist with -σσ- in imitation of Homer.

7–8 [600–1] ἁγναῖς: an epithet particularly, though not exclusively, associated with Demeter, cf. e.g. *HHDem.* 439, *SGO* 03/01/01.3 θεσμοφόρους τε ἁγνὰς ποτνίας (i.e. Demeter and Kore), Richardson on *HHDem.* 203. **θαλίαις** 'festivities'; ἐν θαλίῃς is a phrase from early epic (e.g. *Od.* 11.603, Hes. *Theog.* 115). **αἷς ἔνι … Ἀΐδας** 'at which Hades, who took your beauty also, snatched Kourē'. In the traditional account, Persephone was not taken during a religious festival, but the idea that young girls were carried off while performing, e.g., choral rites was very common. If the rape of Persephone was indeed re-enacted during a festival for Demeter, then this will have encouraged the idea that she too was taken during a festival. **Κούραν:** the standard cultic designation of

Persephone, see *676*, Richardson on *HHDem.* 439. **τεὸν κάλλος** varies σὰν ... ἀγλαΐαν (2) in both dialectal forms and lexicon.

LXXII *GVI* 1920

A hexameter lament from Athens, probably dating from the first century AD. Below this poem on the *stēlē*, but separated from it by a clear space, are the first two verses of what looks like an epitaphic poem in iambic trimeters (carved by the same hand as the hexameters), but one which is utterly different in tone (οὗτος, τί πάσχεις; ποῖ βαδίζεις, ὦ ξένε κτλ.), and the relation between the two poems is quite unclear.

The name of the dead is not preserved, and more than one scenario for the poem is in principle possible. γλυκερὴν ... φωνήν (3) strongly suggests that the deceased is female. In *GVI* Peek supplemented v. 1 with μῆτερ ἐμή and v. 2 with παιδός, making the deceased a child addressing his mother (cf. e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 400–3). Nevertheless, the tone of the frantic (and self-regarding) laments much better suits a widower lamenting the loss of his wife (hence Laemmle's εὖνις ἐμ]ή), and Peek 1960: 39 accepted this. The tone of the poem has much in common with the tradition of such laments descending in part from the portrayal of Admetus in Eur. *Alc*, see Introduction, pp. 31–3.

Bibl. Graindor 1927: 325–6 (*editio princeps*), Peek 1932: 46–8 (with excellent photo).

1 [602] Before Η either Ι or Μ seem most likely, but Π is perhaps not impossible; with ἀνδρό]ς in v. 2, the natural inference is that the poem began with the dead wife's name. **τί τὸ ξένον;** 'What has happened?', 'What's all this?'; the implication is that previously the dead woman always did answer when her husband spoke to her. At Germanicus, *AP* 9.18.1 τί τὸ ξένον; in the same *sedes* means 'What's unexpected about that?'. **ἐσαΐεις:** the only certain example of ἀΐω with a long iota before the Byzantine period, see West on Hes. *WD* 213.

2 [603] ἄλλιτον: probably 'which finds no reponse', almost amounting to 'to no purpose, unavailing', cf. *GDRK* LIII 7 (of the hordes of the dead) λίμνηι πὰρ γοόωντα καὶ ἄλλιτα κωκύοντα. ἄλλιτος, like ἄλλιστος, is also used of Hades or death in the sense 'which does not respond to prayers' (Crinagoras, *AP* 7.643.3 (= *GP* 1875), Ypsilanti 2018: 211–12), and the echo in λίτομαι in the following verse allows us to sense that prayers have so far not achieved any alleviation of the pain.

3 [604] ν]αὶ λίτομαι: a common hexameter opening in late poetry (eleven times in Nonnus, *Dion.*); cf. already Meleager, *AP* 5.165.1–2 (= *HE* 4254–5), a prayer to Night, λίτομαί σε … / ναὶ λίτομαι. Graindor's κ]αί is much less emotionally charged. **ἔκβαλε φωνήν:** for related usages see LSJ ἐκβάλλω III.

4 [605] We are perhaps to imagine that the speaker pauses after ὡς πάρος for a response, cf. Theocr. 3.24 οὐχ ὑπακούεις. **ὀρίνομαι** 'I am troubled/upset', a very rare usage in the first person.

5 [606] μηδέν: μή often replaces οὐ in later Greek. Here μή perhaps gives a generic resonance (*CGCG* 52.48): 'silence, which gives no report …'.

6 [607] ὡς ἐνέπουσι perhaps marks the speaker's reluctance to believe in the loss of his wife (a familiar modern phenomenon) or to accept the consolations which he has been offered ('She is dead – everyone dies …'), rather than his intellectual limitations, cf. *SEG* 38.590.5 (imperial Beroia) εἴ τοι καὶ τέθνηκεν (ἀπιστείη γὰρ ἔχει με). **τί μοι βιότοιο τὸ κέρδος;:** cf. Eur. *Med.* 145 (Medea) τί δέ μοι ζῆν ἔτι κέρδος;.

7 [608] We are here very close to the Euripidean Admetus, see Introduction, pp. 31–2. **γάρ** is postponed as νόσφι σέθεν coheres together as a single unit, cf. *GP*² 95–6.

LXXIII *SGO* 05/01/55 = *IK* 23.549 = *GVI* 1545

A poem almost certainly from Smyrna, belonging to the first or second century AD, in which an unnamed woman laments Paula, her dead daughter; as there is no mention of Paula's father, the woman may be a widow (see 6 μόνη).

Bibl. Christian 2015: 152–4, Szempruch 2019.

1 [609] φθινύθω: intransitive, cf. *Od.* 16.145 (Laertes) ὀδυρόμενος φθινύθει; the active is used of Penelope at *Od.* 18.203–4 ὀδυρομένη … / αἰῶνα φθινύθω.

2 [610] The halcyon, part kingfisher, part bird of the imagination (see Thompson 1936: 46–51, Arnott 2007: 12–13), was a model of perpetual mourning; already in Homer it is πολυπενθής (cf. Eur. *IT* 1089–91) and associated with the loss of children (*Il.* 9.563–4), cf. *SGO* 05/01/44.7–8 (another poem from Smyrna, Hellenistic) μήτηρ δ' ἡ δύστηνος ὀδύρεται, οἷά τις ἀκταῖς / ἀλκυονὶς γοεροῖς δάκρυσι μυρομένα, 01/12/20.5–6 (Hellenistic

Halicarnassus) κατεστενάχησε ... / οἷά τις εἰναλία δάκρυσιν ἀλκυονίς. The mournfulness was associated with the idea that the bird nested on the waves at the winter solstice, the 'halcyon days' (Arist. *HA* 5.542b4–17), and its young were then swept away by the waves. The context suggests that there is little reason here to think of the alternative story of Alcyone and Ceyx (Ovid, *Met.* 11.410–748, etc.). **οἷά τις** is the standard form for introducing such a comparison, see previous n., Aesch. *Ag.* 1142–5 (the perpetually mourning nightingale); if τοῖά τις of the stone is correct, then it will be a very rare case of τοῖος used for οἷος. **ἀλκυών:** the middle syllable is here artificially lengthened, as the only way in which this nominative can be used in dactylic verse; poets normally use the form ἀλκυονίς in the nominative. The word is sometimes aspirated, because of a supposed connection with ἅλς, but we cannot tell which form the poet intended here. **παῖδας ὀδυρομένη:** the alternative articulation, παῖδα σ᾽ ὀδυρομένη, leaves the halcyon without a descriptive phrase and repeats the opening verse.

3 [611] κωφαὶ ... πέτραι: the plural brings unfeeling and normally silent nature into the echoes of the mother's laments (a form of 'pathetic fallacy', see Hunter 1999: 89), while also evoking the stone tomb before which she laments, whereas the singular would simply anticipate τύμβος. The image prepares for the comparison to Niobe in the next couplet; *Adesp. Trag.* fr. 700.4 κωφαῖσιν εἴκελον πέτραις may be connected with Niobe. **ἀνταχοῦσι:** cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3.338 *litoraque alcyonem resonant*, Quint. Smyrn. 1.296–7 (Niobe) καί οἱ συστοναχοῦσι ῥοαὶ πολυηχέος Ἕρμου / καὶ κορυφαὶ Σιπύλου περιμήκεες. The Doric form (the only instance in the poem) perhaps reinforces the sense of elegiac mourning, see above, pp. 206–7.

4 [612] τοκετῶν: lit. 'childbirths', probably a poetic plural (there is no other suggestion of further children), with τοκετός here used, very unusually, for τόκος 'offspring'. **ἔσβεσεν ἠέλιον:** see *546*–7n.

5–6 [613–14] 'Ever, like Niobe, am I seen by all men as a stone tear ...'. Sophocles' Electra similarly compares herself in immediate succession to the mourning nightingale and to Niobe (*El.* 147–52). In the most familiar version (cf. esp. *Il.* 24.602–17), Niobe's twelve children (the number varies elsewhere) were killed by Apollo and Artemis because she had boasted that as a mother she surpassed Leto, who only had two children. Her subsequent mourning led to her metamorphosis, in some versions as an act of pity on Zeus's part, into a rock formation on Mt Sipylos northeast of Smyrna, down which water perpetually poured, cf. Call. *h.* 2.22–4. The

alleged formation was clearly a tourist attraction (cf. Pausanias 1.21.3), and the analogy of Niobe here has local significance, as well as being drawn from the poetic and mythological heritage. Both the mourning mother and the tomb itself are 'like' the petrified Niobe, and it is tempting to think that this couplet refers to a representation of the mourning mother on the tomb *stēlē*, see πᾶσιν ὁρῶμαι / ἀνθρώποις; whether or not the inscription was accompanied by an image is, however, uncertain. Antipater Thess. *AP* 7.743 (= *GP* 433–40) celebrates a woman survived by all her twenty-nine children, who claims to have surpassed Niobe 'in children and modest speech'. **πέτρινον δάκρυ** evokes Niobe's metamorphosis; Paula's mother too is nothing but 'a tear', as changeless (ἀεί) as both stone and Niobe alike. **πᾶσιν ὁρῶμαι / ἀνθρώποις:** the AD-scholia on *Il.* 24.602 report that Niobe was turned into a stone 'which even today is seen by everyone (ὁρᾶται παρὰ πάντων) on Sipylos in Phrygia'; her story may have reached our poet through such mythographic summaries, as well as through the poetic heritage. **ἀχέων πένθος ἔχουσα μόνη** 'bearing the grief from my sufferings alone'. The loneliness of grieving is particularly acute for both Niobe and Paula's mother, cf. *Il.* 24.614 (Niobe's rock) ἐν οὔρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν, *SGO* 16/51/05.5–6 (imperial Phrygia) ἐρημαίη δ᾽ ἐπὶ τύμβωι / στήσομαι ἀντὶ κόρης δακρυόεσσα λίθος.

7 [615] μικρόν: sc. χρόνον, 'for a little time'. The most obvious models for such a return to the upper world are mythical figures such as Eurydice, Protesilaus and even Persephone herself (cf. 9–10); having fashioned herself as a Niobe, the mother now imagines a 'mythical' role for her dead daughter.

8 [616] παῖδαν: a metrically useful late form of the accusative, attested in imperial inscriptions only before a vowel; this form should very likely also be restored in 10. **δοῖς** is either a late form for the optative δοίης or an error for δός; the latter would place it in parallel with μέθες.

9–10 [617–18] Both text and interpretation are uncertain. σοι is usually understood as the δαίμων of 7 with Φερσεφόνη as the subject of the verb; Persephone will have no complaints, in part because she too spends part of the year above ground. Alternatively, σοι may be Persephone herself, addressed here in the vocative Φερσεφόνη, with the subject of the verb, presumably Hades, concealed at the end of the verse: 'Hades will not blame you at all for this, Persephone …'. Unfortunately, no suggestion for the end of the verse is really satisfactory or sits well with the apparently singular verb in 10: οὐδέ τις Ἄιδηι 'nor anyone in Hades' (Keil), οὐδέ τι σ᾽, Ἄιδη 'nor (blame) you in any way, Hades' (Peek), οὐδέ τι σ᾽ Ἄιδης 'nor

will Hades blame you' (Merkelbach). μέμφομαι may be constructed with either dative or accusative. Keil's ἀνστήσηις (second person singular aorist subjunctive ἀνίστημι), 'allow to rise up, send up', is the only suggestion for what the stone presents in 10 which is at least plausible, but the corruption, if that is what it is, remains unexplained. **Φερσεφόνη:** the standard spelling in inscriptions, see Richardson 1974: 170. **παῖδαν:** see 8n. **κατ᾽ ὄναρ** comes as something of a despairing surprise as reality intrudes: the dead can only return, even 'for a short while', in a dream (for the motif cf. LXXIX). Even such an insubstantial glimpse, however, is better than nothing.

LXXIV *CIL* x.2 7567–8 = *GVI* 2005.34–47

These fourteen verses are inscribed sequentially, but with a slightly larger interlinear gap after 6 and 10, in a remarkable funerary structure honouring Atilia Pomptilla and her husband L. Cassius Philippus at Carales near Cagliari in Sardinia, the so-called 'Grotta delle Vipere'. Altogether there are fourteen other inscriptions in the cave structure, five Greek epigrams, seven Latin poems and two Latin prose inscriptions. The fourteen verses printed here are normally counted as two poems (1–10, 11–14), but the γάρ of v. 7 cannot certainly be read on the stone (the most recent editor prefers ἤ]<δ>[ε μέν]), and the switch from second-person address (1–6) to third-person (7–10) allows an argument for three poems to be made. The inscriptions were made directly on to the natural rock, and the stone cutter had to adapt to the shape and fissures of the rock; this, together with the effects of time, has led to a number of uncertainties of reading and places where readings claimed in the past can no longer be checked. The works listed in the Bibliography below should be consulted on the details of the text and the various readings which have been proposed.

Nothing is known of Pomptilla and her husband beyond the inscriptions in the grotto, but the following narrative may, with all due caution, be inferred from them (non-bold references are to verse numbers in *GVI* 2005). Pomptilla was from Rome (48 *urbis alumna*) and followed her husband to Sardinia (55 *comitata maritum*), perhaps in political exile (48–9 *graues casus … coniugis infelicis*); after a marriage lasting forty-one years (57), Philippus became ill and was close to death (**7**, **9** λιποψυχοῦντος, 3 *iam deficiente marito*, 63 *languentem*), and Pomptilla prayed that she might die in his place (**9–10**, 3–4, 31, 33, 51–2, 59–60). She did indeed die, Philippus lived on for an indeterminate period, and now they are buried together. What 'actually happened', of course, we do not know (see e.g. Lattimore 1942: 205), but the remarkable collection of honorific verse

and the creation of a νηός or *templum* to Pomptilla suggest, at least, that it was believed that something extraordinary had taken place. The letter forms suggest the late first or second century AD (the latter is perhaps more likely), and a date after AD 88 is now normally accepted on the basis of an apparent echo of Martial 1.36.6 in one of the Latin verses (see De Sanctis 1932: 423). Tacitus, *Ann.* 16.8–9 reports the exile to Sardinia of C. Cassius Longinus in AD 66 under Nero, but it is not known whether he and L. Cassius Philippus were related.

It is unclear how many different poets are represented by the inscriptions; it is often asserted that they are all the work of one man, whether the widowed husband himself, despite the fact that two at least of the inscriptions refer to his burial, or a bilingual professional poet. In the former case Cassius will have anticipated his own death and subsequent burial with his wife. Both the Greek and the Latin verses are characterised by repeated vocabulary and theme (see **6**, **7**, **8**, **12**, **13**nn.), which may result, of course, from copying rather than from identity of author; there are no significant differences of metrical practice within the Greek and Latin corpora. There are a few possible indications that the author of the Greek verses was a Latin speaker (see **5–6**, **8**, **11**nn.), and this would not be at all surprising on imperial Sardinia, whether or not the poet is to be identified with Cassius himself. There are, however, interesting differences of theme and focus between the Greek and the Latin verses. Whereas the Latin verses focus on Pomptilla's devotion and act of self-sacrifice, as well as alluding to Cassius' troubled past, the extant Greek verses pay more attention to her *kleos* and to the emotional deathbed-scene. Of particular interest is the comparison of Pomptilla to Narcissus and Hyacinthus (see **5**n.), which finds no parallel in the Latin verses, despite Ovid's lengthy treatment of both myths in the *Metamorphoses*. Moreover, in a poorly preserved Greek poem (vv. 22–31), Pomptilla is said to have surpassed Penelope, Evadne, Laodameia and Alcestis, the 'much touted heroines' of the past (cf. e.g. Ovid, *Pont.* 3.1.105–12, *Trist.* 5.14.35–40). However unsurprising the evocation of Penelope and Alcestis (see Introduction, p. 6), the prominence of figures of myth in the Greek, as opposed to the Latin, verses remains striking; the 'exemplary habit' which drew on the riches of Greek story seems to have come all but naturally when composing in Greek, whereas Latin epitaphs for dead wives had always stressed the high-minded virtue and devotion of the deceased. For epitaphic use of figures such as Penelope and Alcestis see Vérilhac 1985: 108–12, Grandinetti 2002, *SEG* 52.942, Hunter 2018: 7.

Bibl. Coppola 1931 (with photos), Zucca 1992, Marginesu 2002: 1815–18, Cugusi 2003: 105–20, 135–6.

1–2 [619–20] εἰς ἴα … ὀστέα ‘May your bones, Pomptilla, sprout into violets and lilies’. There is a remarkable parallel in an imperial epitaph from Cyzicus on the Black Sea, εἰς ἴα καὶ ῥόδα τὰ ὀστέα σου μακάριε Ἀρκάδι’ κτλ. (Smith–Rustafjaell 1902: 203); whether there is a common source we cannot say. The suggestion of metamorphosis here will be strengthened by the explicit reference to Narcissus and Hyacinthus in 5, but the idea is a common one, and clearly associated with the planting of flowers on graves or making offerings of flowers at tombs, see e.g. Bion, *EA* 65–6, *IGUR* III 1148, Lattimore 1942: 129–31, 135–6; particularly close to the poem for Pomptilla is an epitaphic poem from imperial Rome for one Flavia Nicopolis (*CLE* 1184.12–18):

> o mihi si superi uellent praestare roganti
> ut tuo de tumulo flos ego cernam nouum
> crescere uel uiridi ramo uel flore amaranti
> uel roseo uel purpureo uiolaeque nitore,
> ut qui praeteriens gressu tardante uiator
> uiderit hos flores, titulum legat et sibi dicat
> ‘hoc flos est corpus Flauiae Nicopolis’.

ἴα: Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 1.77 notes that to dream of wearing a garland of dark (πορφυρῶν) violets indicates death, because the colour has a certain συμπάθεια with death. **κρίνα:** probably ‘lilies’, though the identification is disputed (see Gow on Theocr. 11.56); for the association of lilies with tombs and death cf. Dioscorides, *AP* 7.485.1 (= *HE* 1623) βάλλεθ’ ὑπὲρ τύμβου πολιὰ κρίνα κτλ., Nicander fr. 74.70 ‘lilies (λείρια) which wither on the tombstones of the deceased’ (in v. 27 Nicander has said that poets use κρίνα and λείρια to refer to the same flower), Diphilus fr. 98, Virg. *Aen.* 6.883–4 (Marcellus) *manibus date lilia plenis, / purpureos spargam flores* … **βλαστήσειεν:** third person singular aorist optative; the alternative paradigm is found in 4 βλαστήσαις, cf. *CGCG* 13.4, K–B II 73–4. **θάλλοις** ‘may you flourish’. **ῥόδων:** roses are often described as growing on tombs or as gifts to the dead, as in *CLE* 1184 above. Romans were familiar with an annual tombside ritual called *rosalia* or *rosaria* in which flowers were laid on the grave of a loved one, see Lattimore 1942: 137–41.

3 [621] ἡδυπνόου: cf. Meleager, *AP* 5.144.6 (= *HE* 4161) ἁδυπνόων στεφάνων, *AP* 5.147.3 (= *HE* 4238) κρόκον ἡδύν, though no imitation of Meleager is necessary (*pace* Magnelli 2007b: 175). **κρόκου:** see *567*n. Pollux 1.229 lists ‘roses, lilies, violets, crocus, lotus, narcissus, hyacinth’ in that order at the head of a list of meadow-flowers, and notes that poets also use the names ἀμάραντον and λευκόϊον; Meleager imagines a garland of *leukoion*, myrtle, narcissus, lilies, crocus, hyacinth and roses (*AP* 5.147

= *HE* 4236–41), and cf. already *HHDem.* 6–8. Our poet has used literature as well as personal observation in constructing his list. **ἀγηράτου ἀμαράντου** 'ageless amarant', with hiatus between the words; as ἀμάραντος means 'unwithering' (< ἀ + μαραίνω, cf. Pliny, *HN* 21.23, Artemid. 1.77), adjective and noun here are virtual synonyms and, as ἀγήρατον was itself the name of a plant (Dioscor. *MM* 4.58), the phrase could in principle be understood as 'unwithering *agēraton*'. 'Amarant', however, a flower which is variously identified in antiquity (as ἑλίχρυσον by Dioscor. *MM* 4.57), is, according to Artemid. 1.77, normally offered only 'to the dead or to gods'. The third syllable of ἀγήρατος is standardly long in inscriptional verse, cf. e.g. *CEG* 548.3, 604.3, 721.2, *IGUR* IV 1532.3.

4 [622] λευκοΐου: perhaps snowdrop or white violet, see Gow on Theocr. 7.64, Polunin–Huxley 1965: 219.

5–6 [623–4] The poet wishes that Pomptilla's bones would give rise to a flower called after her, just as Narcissus and Hyacinthus are commemorated by flowers into which they had metamorphosed. Neither story is particularly close to Pomptilla's selfless devotion to her husband, but the number of myths concerning metamorphosis into flowers was limited, and the poet was perhaps familiar with the Ovidian narratives of the 'tragic' loves of the two young men (*Met.* 3.339–510, 10.162–219). Narcissus and Hyacinthus are often paired or even confused in literature (cf. Philostratus, *Imag.* 1.23–4, Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 5.1, Philargyrius on Virg. *Ecl.* 2.48, Knoepfler 2010: 167–70), and both were the object of cult, Narcissus in Boeotia and Hyacinthus in Sparta and elsewhere; such posthumous honours are an important link with the shrine to Pomptilla. Already in *HHDem.* hyacinth and narcissus are juxtaposed in the list of flowers which Persephone was picking (vv. 7–8 with Richardson's nn.). **Ναρκίσσωι:** Narcissus fell in love with his own reflection in the water and, in the best-known version, faded away to almost nothing: *nusquam corpus erat: croceum pro corpore florem / inueniunt foliis medium cingentibus albis* (Ovid, *Met.* 3.509–10). Narcissus has left very little trace in literature before Ovid and the roughly contemporary mythographer Conon (*Myth.* 24), but a Hellenistic background seems all but certain. One late source makes him the son of 'Amaranthys' (Probus on Virg. *Ecl.* 2.48), and a link between the eponymous 'heroes' of the narcissus and the 'amarant' might have been known to our poet, see Schachter 1986: 180. On the various accounts of his death and commemoration see Zimmerman 1994, Knoepfler 2010, *LIMC* s.v. **πολυκλαύτωι θ' Ὑακίνθωι:** a Spartan youth who was loved and accidentally killed by Apollo; he was commemorated in the festival of Hyakinthia, celebrated both in Sparta and

other Dorian cities, cf. Wide 1893: 285–93, Bömer 1980: 66–72, *LIMC* s.v., Pettersson 1992: 9–41. πολύκλαυτος probably refers both to Apollo's lamentation for his ἐρώμενος, repeated ritually every year by those at the festival, and to the belief that the letters AIAI were depicted on hyacinth flowers, cf. Euphorion fr. 44 Powell = 44 Lightfoot, [Moschus], *EB* 6–7, Ovid, *Met.* 10.209–16, Gow on Theocr. 10.28. **καὶ σὸν … χρόνος** 'time would have a flower of you also <to show> among men of later generations'. The expression seems rather awkward, but the meaning is not in doubt. **ὀψιγόν[οις]:** cf. *GVI* 2005.28–30 (from elsewhere on the same inscription) τὰς πολυθρυλήτους ἡρωίδας …. νικᾶι ἐν ὀψιγόνοισιν Ἀτιλία. The supplement seems all but certain and the full form was read *in situ* by some earlier editors; on the published photo only –ΓΟΝ[…] ΑΝΘΟ– can be made out. Coppola 1931: 396, however, asserted that ΟΨΙΓΟΝΟΝ could be read, and he suggested ἂν ὀψιγόνων … χρόνος.

7–10 [625–8] See introductory note on the relation of these verses to 1–6. The switch from second to third person can be paralleled in funerary inscriptions, but is somewhat awkward here, and 7–10 may have been felt as separate; Coppola 1931: 407 considers reading [σὺ] δ[ὲ] γὰρ … ἀντέλαβες.

7 [625] πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλυε: cf. Crinagoras, *AP* 9.276.5 (= *GP* 2046), an old woman, πνεῦμα δ' ὁμοῦ πενίηι ἀπελύσατο. For related uses of ἀπολύειν cf. Plut. *Mor.* 108c ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀπολύσηι ἡμᾶς, *GVI* 1871.7–8, 2055.6, Ypsilanti 2018: 461–2. The phrase may be repeated on the inscription in *GVI* 2005.72.

8 [626] No really convincing reading or restoration of the first word has been made: ψυχήν (Kaibel) and Λήθην (Le Bas, Peek, cf. *GVI* 2005.59) are the best suggestions. The former uses the idea of the spirit escaping out of the mouth of the dead, and the implication of 9 is indeed that Pomptilla was leaning over her husband to catch his ψυχή as it left (cf. *548*n.); this is perhaps another sign that the poet is quite at home within Latin culture. Coppola 1931: 405–6 read the text as χ[ήρ]ην, but although the idea of a last kiss would be entirely appropriate (cf. e.g. Reed on Bion, *EA* 44), Pomptilla was not yet 'widowed', and the idea seems out of keeping with the tone of the poems. **ἀκροτάτοις χείλεσι προσπελάσας:** there is perhaps some memory of *Od.* 9.285 (Poseidon allegedly wrecking Odysseus' ship) ἄκρηι προσπελάσας, the only occurrence of προσπελάζειν in Homer.

9 [627] The meaningful juxtaposition γαμέτου Πώμπτιλλα is reinforced by a spondaic fifth foot (cf. 1); ὑπὲρ γαμέτου also appears in 12 and in v.

72 Peek. **λιποψυχοῦντος** 'as his spirit was leaving him'; the verb is not uncommon in the sense 'swoon'. The Latin verses use *deficiens* (3) and *languens* (63) in this sense.

10 [628] 'received his life in return for <her own> death'. Rather than collecting merely his last breath (8n.), Pomptilla received his life as a gift at the price of her death.

11 [629] Verse-final μέν is very rare and perhaps reveals a poet to whom Greek verse does not come entirely naturally. **συζυγίαν:** although σύζυγος is not uncommon, συζυγία meaning 'marriage' is rare, and the poet may have been influenced by Latin *coniugium.* **ἔτεμεν:** the god's cutting sliced through the couple's unity (**συ**ζυγ-).

12 [630] λύτρον 'as a ransom'.

13–14 [631–2] That Philippos lived on 'unwillingly' and wishes to join his wife in death evokes again the motif of Alcestis and Admetus, see Introduction, pp. 31–2. The motif is not of course restricted to that context, cf. e.g. Eur. *Suppl.* 1019–21 (Evadne's suicide) σῶμα τ' αἴθοπι φλογμῶι / πόσει συμμείξασα φίλωι, / χρῶτα χροΐ πέλας θεμένα; Ovid even evokes it in the context of Narcissus, *nunc duo concordes anima moriemur in una* (*Met.* 3.472). **συγκεράσαι … πνεῦμα:** a variation and re-use of the motif of 'catching the breath', see *548*n. The juxtaposition of ψυχή and πνεῦμα plays with the near synonymity of the terms. **φιλανδροτάτηι** 'most husband-loving', see Vérilhac 1985: 99, Laemmle 2019.

LXXV *IGUR* III 1305 = *GVI* 1938

Two closely related poems for Petronia Musa (the full name is given in Roman script below the inscription), a singer and musician of (probably) second-century AD Rome. The poems are separated on the front of the stone by a bust of Musa, and the sides are decorated by depictions of lyres. The first poem announces the identity of the deceased, and may be imagined as spoken by the person who created her tomb; the second is spoken by someone who knew her (and her death) well – perhaps a lover or an admirer. Both use repetition and asyndetic, matched phrases (e.g. 1, 3, 5–6, 10) to evoke the emotional style of lament. The second poem picks up and plays with themes and words from the first in a familiar spirit of *uariatio*, and there is (inevitably) play with Musa's name; for such a conceit cf. Julian, *AP* 7.597 on the death of a singer called Calliope. The second poem, in particular, is

characterised by unusual images and vocabulary, but both exploit the contrast between Musa's loveliness and voice while alive, and the fixed stone image which is now all that is left of her (see 3n.). The natural assumption, but it is no more than that, is that both poems are the work of the same poet.

Bibl. Cozza-Luzi 1902.

1 [633] A chiastic structure, made more poetic by the mannered word order in the second half (ἀηδόνα τήν), heralds a poem for someone whose gifts were poetic and cultural. **κυανῶπιν**, 'dark-browed', is used once in Homer (*Od.* 12.60 of Amphitrite), but is common in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and in poetic diction more generally; it is not otherwise attested in inscriptional verse. **ἀηδόνα:** see *141*n. Here the beauty of the nightingale's singing, and the link to ἀείδειν, are important, not the nightingale as a bird of mourning. **μελίγηρυν:** the adjective is used once in Homer of the Sirens (*Od.* 12.187, and cf. *HHAp.* 519), and that link is picked up in 5; both passages seem to exploit the close association, recognised already in antiquity, between the Muses and the Sirens, see Hunter 2018: 198–9. The only other occurrence in inscriptional verse is exactly the same phrase in a perhaps roughly contemporary poem for Aucta at *IGUR* III 1342.1 τὴν Μουσέων χαρίεσσαν ἀηδόνα τὴν μελίγηρυν; this may be a matter of epitaphic formulae, or of direct imitation, or the two poems may be by the same poet. *IGUR* III 1342 does not, however, exploit the link between Muses and Sirens as does this poem.

2 [634] This verse too is marked by artificial word order: ἐξαπίνης must be taken with ἄναυδον. **λιτός** 'simple, unpretentious', cf. e.g. *GVI* 480.2 λιτῆι ὑπὸ στήληι, 1121.8 λιτὴ … πέτρη, Antipater Thess., *AP* 7.18.1–2 (= *GP* 135–6) λιτὸς ὁ τύμβος ὀφθῆναι.

3 [635] λίθος ὥς plays sadly with Petronia's name (< πέτρος); no sound will ever emerge from the visible stone-image of Musa. For the motif see *613–14*n. λίθος ὥς was perhaps chosen in preference to πέτρος ὥς both to avoid too obvious a play with Petronia and to create an echoing effect with the preceding λιτός. **πάνσοφος** refers to Musa's musical talent. **περίβωτος:** the standard form περιβόητος cannot be used in dactylic verse.

4 [636] For the motif of the 'light earth' see *532*n. The monument depicting Musa and bearing the inscription would not 'lie light' on anyone, but there may be no intended irony.

5 [637] τὴν Σειρῆνα: see 1n. Such conventional praise ignores the dangerous side of the Homeric Sirens, cf. e.g. *IGUR* III 1250.1 ἡ πολὺ Σειρήνων λιγυρωτέρη κτλ.; at *IGUR* IV 1526.5–6 Menander is Σειρῆνα θεάτρων. **κακῶς κακός:** outrage is expressed through a common idiom of popular speech (Renehan 1976: 114–16), though the standard order is κακὸς κακῶς (which would here be unmetrical). The inscribed κακὸς κακός would be an emotionally intense repetition. **ἥρπασε:** see *681*n.

6 [638] γλυκερὴν ... ἀηδονίδα varies ἀηδόνα ... μελίγηρυν (1). ἀηδονίς (see Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.94, Fantuzzi 2020: 448) is perhaps felt here as an affectionate diminutive, with an appropriately feminine ending. At Nossis, *AP* 7.414.3 (= *HE* 2829) Rhinthon is Μουσάων ὀλίγα τις ἀηδονίς.

7 [639] The image is that of a young nightingale killed by sudden cold and frost or dew (σταγόνεσσι), but there may also be some mysterious (to us) reference to the circumstances of Musa's death. **ἄφαρ** picks up ἐξαπίνης in 2. **λυθεῖσαν:** see *369*n. for λύεσθαι of death.

8 [640] ἐτάκη would more naturally suggest eyes 'wasted' by crying, cf. *Od.* 8.522, 19.204–9 (Penelope), but cf. Lucian, *On grief* 18 in which the dead man says that his eyes will soon 'rot away' (διασαπέντων); for τήκεσθαι of death more generally see *369*, *598–9*nn. There may be some (almost subliminal) connection between the use of τήκεσθαι for Musa's eyes and the 'cold drops' of the previous verse, but if *Od.* 19.204–9 is evoked, then the verb points to how Petronia's lovely, lively eyes have become the unmoving stone stare of her portrait, not unlike those of Odysseus in the Homeric scene (*Od.* 19.211–12). **ἐκεῖνα** 'the famous', LSJ I 2a.

9 [641] πέφρακται 'has been blocked up' (< φράσσω), a striking usage which perhaps points to Musa's closed mouth on the bust. 'Blocking up' one's own or another's mouth would normally be a temporary measure, not with the permanence of death, cf. Paul, *Epist. Rom.* 3.19 ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῆι. Behind the expression lies the Homeric ἕρκος ὀδόντων, where ἕρκος is glossed φράγμα or περίφραγμα (D-scholia on *Il.* 1.284, 4.350, Apoll. Soph. 76.27–8).

10 [642] The verse picks up the compliments of 3–4.

11 [643] ἔρρετε 'Off with you!', 'To hell with you!', cf. *GVI* 1552.5 ἔρρε Τύχη πανόδυρτε, 1732.11 ἔρρε ... ἄδικε Φθόνε, Harder 2012: II 49–50. ἔρρετε appears only once in Homer, *Il.* 24.239 (Priam to those trying to stop him from going to Achilles' tent) ἔρρετε, λωβητῆρες, ἐλεγχέες, and that passage,

with its similar shape and context of death and ἄλγεα (241), may be recalled here. **μέρμηραι:** a very rare variant for μέριμναι, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 55, Theognis 1325 μερμήρας δ᾽ ἀπόπαυε κακάς, which may perhaps be echoed here (cf. μερίμνας / θυμοβόρους in 1323–4). The meaning seems to be that we torture ourselves with worry about ourselves and those dear to us, but this is just pointless, given that everything is controlled by a Fortune we cannot predict; hopes of a *good* future are a waste of human effort. For such closural *gnōmai* cf. *184–5*, *590–3*nn.

LXXVI *GVI* 1684

A hexameter poem for Oinanthe, daughter of Glaukios, who died soon enough after her marriage that she could be called νύμφη, and very probably during her first pregnancy. The poem comes from Chersonesos in the southern Crimea, and is probably to be dated to the second century AD. The stone is not only full of obvious errors, but also very worn and difficult to read; the photo in Kieseritzky–Watzinger 1909: Taf. 23 leaves several problems of reading unresolved.

The poem is characterised by a choice poetic style and an array of allusions to classical literature. Echoes of Homer, Ar. *Clouds* (6–7n.) and Callimachus (1, 3nn.) seem certain, and cases of varying strength can also be made for Dionysius Periegetes (9–10n.), Hesiod (16–17n.), Theocritus (16–17n.), and Plato's *Republic* (9–10n.). The poem is in some respects comparable to that for Sophytos (XXXIII), also from the edges of the Greek world, but it also recalls a familiar style of imperial Greek (and to some extent Latin) poetry: Lightfoot 2014: 511 describes the verse of Dionysius Periegetes as modelled 'from shards and scraps of earlier poetry', and that is not a bad description of some parts at least of this remarkable poem.

Bibl. Latyschev 1916: 446–9, Wilamowitz 1928: 384–8.

1–4 [645–8] A wish that the Muses had had a chance to sing celebratory songs at the birth of Oinanthe's children, a wish that will now never be fulfilled.

1 [645] ἇ βάλε: a rare expression of a wish, found only in high poetry, cf. Alcman, *PMG* 26.2, Call. fr. 254 (= *Hecale* fr. 41 Hollis), both with the optative; in a wish for the past, Wilamowitz's φώνησαν (3) may be correct, but the infinitive is standard in wishes with ὤφελον, etc., with which ἇ βάλε is synonymous, cf. Anon. *AP* 7.669.3 ἇ βάλε μήτε σε κεῖνος ἰδεῖν, *CGCG* 38.40, K–B I 207. The origin of βάλε in this use is unclear. **τοι** is sometimes

found in wishes and prayers (*GP*² 545), and that classical usage may be imitated here. **σὰ χαρίσια** 'songs of thanksgiving for you', cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.2.205 χαρίστιον [uel χαρίσιον] ὕμνον ἀείσω, Julian, *To the sun* 41 ὕμνον … χαριστήριον; τὰ χαρίσια would be 'the thanksgiving songs we know'. σὰ χαρίσια … νύμφη is an echo of Call. fr. 54.1–2 Harder, the first verses of the 'Victoria Berenices' and thus of the third book of the *Aitia*, … χαρίσιον ἕδνον ὀφείλω / νύμφα; Callimachus' χαρίσιον ἕδνον was the song itself, but Oinanthe will receive no such celebrations. To understand χαρίσια here as 'gifts' would make 4 redundant. **κάμμορε:** this pitying vocative occurs four times in *Od.* (always to Odysseus), but (perhaps surprisingly) nowhere else in inscriptional verse.

2 [646] παίδων: the plural looks to the longer-term happiness which Oinanthe and her family have been denied. **ἐπὶ γούνασι σεῖο τεθέντων:** cf. *Od.* 19.401 (the baby Odysseus) τόν ῥά οἱ Εὐρύκλεια φίλοισ' ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκε, *Il.* 22.500 (Astyanax and Hector).

3 [647] λοχίης τε καλὸν νόμον Εἰλειθυίης 'and the lovely song of Eileithyia who helps in childbirth'; for νόμος 'song, melody' cf. Call. fr. 644 νόμον … Ἄρηος, LSJ II 1, and for hymns to Eileithyia, who was invoked to aid women in their labour, cf. Pausanias 1.18.5 (Delos, where Eileithyia was particularly revered for her role in the birth of Apollo and Artemis, cf. *HHAp.* 97–116), 6.20.3 (Elis). The poet here echoes and varies Call. *h.* 4.256–7 νύμφαι Δηλιάδες … / εἶπαν Ἐλειθυίης ἱερὸν μέλος; the Muses are the female choir most closely associated with Apollo. In v. 304 Callimachus refers to one of the traditional Delian hymns ascribed to Olen of Lycia, to whom the Delian hymn to Eileithyia was also ascribed (Hdt. 4.35.3, Paus. 1.18.5, 8.21.3, 9.27.2), as νόμον Λυκίοιο γέροντος. The evocation of Callimachus' description of Apollo's triumphant birth and the Olympian reconciliation which attended it (*h.* 4.259) produces a bitter contrast with Oinanthe's fate. νόμον here has traditionally been understood as 'manner, method', but that seems remarkably weak. **λοχίης:** elsewhere found as an epithet of Artemis (e.g. Eur. *Suppl.* 958, *IT* 1097) and Isis; Eileithyia was very closely associated (or identified) with Artemis in cult and literature, cf. *RE* 5.2101–10. Eileithyia is εὔλοχος at Call. *Epigr.* 53.2 (= *HE* 1154), an epithet found of Artemis at Eur. *Hipp.* 166.

4 [648] κεχαρμένα δῶρα 'gifts which bring pleasure', cf. *Il.* 20.298–9 κεχαρισμένα … / δῶρα, *Od.* 16.184–5. Strictly speaking, the gifts would have been the songs of the Muses, but the potential children will also be felt as suggested by the phrase. κεχαρμένος, in form a perfect passive

participle of χαίρω, is more usually active in sense, 'taking pleasure in', cf. *GVI* 1539.7, Eur. *Or.* 1122, *Cycl.* 367.

5 [649] σὺ μέν is never properly answered, as the description becomes more elaborate. **κρυεραῖσιν:** κρυερός is an epithet of Hades already at Hes. *WD* 153 and of death at, e.g., *GVI* 1114.2, 1876.6, Eur. fr. 916.6, cf. *447*n.; the warmth of the sun never reaches the Underworld (*Od.* 11.15–19). **ἰαύεις:** cf. *550*. Oinanthe, asleep and with no more feeling than the stone which represents her (8), hears nothing of the roaring and noise all around which dominate 6–11; the contrast is a very powerful one, and ἰαύεις seems a very likely correction (see further 16–17n.). Wilamowitz's ἀλύεις, 'roam aimlessly', is also close to what is on the stone and easier with ἀνὰ δρόσον, and might be thought to evoke Patroclus' ghost at *Il.* 23.74 and/or the distraught Achilles at *Il.* 24.12, but it leaves ἐγείρει in 6 unexplained and destroys the effective contrast between Oinanthe and what goes on around her.

6–7 [650–1] The crashing noise around Oinanthe is mimicked in the resounding echo of κελάδοντος ... κελάδημα and the alliteration of both with Κωκυτοῦ. The effect itself is echoed from the entrance of Aristophanes' cloud-chorus, *ἀέναοι* Νεφέλαι, / ἀρθῶμεν φανεραὶ *δροσερὰν* φύσιν εὐάγητον / πατρὸς ἀπ' *Ὠκεανοῦ βαρυαχέος* ... / καὶ ποταμῶν ζαθέων *κελαδήματα* / καὶ πόντον *κελάδοντα* βαρύβρομον (Ar. *Clouds* 275–84). The Underworld rivers replace the crashing of those on earth, and we hear the noise of two texts, not just one. **Κωκυτοῦ**, 'Wailing', had been the name of one of the rivers of the Underworld since *Od.* 10.514, where all of the Underworld rivers are 'loud-crashing' (ἐρίδουποι). **κελάδοντος:** a description of rivers and the sea in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 18.576, 21.16. **ἀνὰ δρόσον:** lit. 'along the wetness of', i.e. 'on the banks of the streams of'; δρόσος is a high poeticism for 'water', cf. Eur. *Andr.* 167, *IT* 1192, LSJ 2. **ἀεναές:** lit. 'ever-flowing', i.e. constant. The second half of this compound often carries little significance, but sound is often said to flow (ῥεῖν), and -ναές picks up the themes of the previous verse. The standard form is ἀέναος, not ἀεναής. **κελάδημα** is a very rare noun before Nonnus, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 213, Ar. *Clouds* 283 (above); κελαδεῖν is not a standard verb to describe mourning (see next n.), and here the noun derives from the Aristophanic model. **φίλης ὀπός**, 'dear voice', is close to what is on the stone, but the phrase seems less expressive than might have been expected, and the text must be considered uncertain.

8 [652] ὄρνις ὅκως: the nightingale, or perhaps the halcyon, is probably meant, cf. *SGO* 01/20/39.5 (Hellenistic Miletos) αἰνὰ δὲ μυρο[μένα κελα]δεῖ

τέκος ὥς τις ἀηδών, *141*, *610*nn. The Ionic form ὅκως, here postponed after its noun, raises the stylistic level; Wilamowitz suggested an echo of Call. *Epigr.* 48.2 (= *HE* 1166). **γεγόηκε:** the perfect, which here seems not to differ in meaning from the present (cf. 12), is perhaps an extension of 'intensive perfects', not uncommonly found with verbs of noise, e.g. κέκραγα, cf. K–G I 148–9, *CGCG* 33.37. **δέ** is lengthened before initial λ- in imitation of Homeric effects (West 1982: 15–16). **λίθος:** see *613–14*, *635*nn.

9–10 [653–4] evoke *Il.* 21.8–16, a scene of very great noise as Achilles fills the river Xanthos with corpses (8 εἰλέοντο, ἀργυροδίνην, 16 ῥόος κελάδων). **μελανδῖναι**, 'dark-swirling', is found elsewhere only of the Ganges at Dion. Perieg. 577; as Ὠκεανοῖο concludes Dion. Perieg. 580, the epithet may have been borrowed from Dionysius, rather than from a classical or Hellenistic poet. **περί** is probably in tmesis with εἰλεῦνται, rather than governing the pronoun which it follows. The second syllable is lengthened before ῥ in imitation of Homeric effects (West 1982: 15–16). **ῥόες:** although singular ῥοῦς for ῥόος is common, the same is not true of the plural. ῥόοι or ῥοαί would have been possible here, but the poem (remarkably) does not contain a single example of correption. Homer has both ῥόος and ῥοαί with Ὠκεανοῖο. **Ὠκεανοῖο:** for the association of Ocean with the Underworld cf. e.g. *Od.* 10.508–12 (Ocean is there βαθυδίνης), 11.13. **ἀλιβάντων**, 'those without moisture', i.e. the dead. Grammarians standardly understood this rare term as ἀ-λιβάς, 'without-drop', cf. Plut. *Mor.* 736a (with Teodorsson 1996: 293), and this makes a striking contrast with the rivers which swirl around Oinanthe. The word first occurs at Pl. *Rep.* 3.387c1–2, where among the traditional features of the Underworld which must be outlawed are Κωκυτούς τε καὶ Στύγας καὶ ἐνέρους καὶ ἀλίβαντας; our poet may well have known that passage of the *Republic*, and *Il.* 20.64–5 (see next n.) is cited at 386d1–2.

11 [655] σμερδαλέον: adverbial neuter, here of sound, as commonly. At *Il.* 20.65 the Underworld is described as σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ. **βρομέουσι:** in Homer only of flies at *Il.* 16.642; whether this encourages us to sense ψυχαί as 'butterflies', as well as spirits (so Wilamowitz), is debatable. It is, however, hard not to feel some influence from the image of the ψυχαί of the suitors as 'squeaking' (τετριγυῖαι) bats at *Od.* 24.6–9, a passage cited at Pl. *Rep.* 3.387a (see 9–10n.).

12 [656] οὐ πόσιος … ἐπεὶ πίες: verbal play on πόσις as both 'husband' and 'drink' is not out of the question in a poem of this stylistic ambition. πίες is the unaugmented aorist. **νενόηκας:** see 8n. The verb is appropriate as

the dead who have drunk the water of Lethe no longer have νόος. **ἆ:** an emotional exclamation of regret, cf. 1. **Στύγα Λήθης:** lit. 'the Styx of Lethe', cf. *472*n. The Styx was normally thought of as a quite separate body of water from Lethe from which the dead drank, and the expression is probably a bold 'Underworld version' of the common poetic use of Ἀχελῷιος for water (LSJ II, Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 625, Erbse on Schol. *Il.* 21.194). Just as the major river of Greece can be used in metonymy, so here the major river of the Underworld is similarly used when infernal water is at issue.

13–17 [657–61] An emotional appeal against the fixed order of things; similar outbursts are familiar from, e.g., Euripidean characters. The verses have a very marked social, aristocratic flavour (see Garulli 2008a: 627); in antiquity the rich could presumably afford better medical treatment than the poor, but the idea that they should, *qua* members of the elite, be spared early death seems remarkable. Unfortunately, we cannot know what lies behind the claim.

13 [657] The text of the second half of the verse is quite uncertain, and what is actually on the stone at the end is also open to question. It is normally assumed that κῶραι is the final word, but Doric ω seems inexplicable. Korsch proposed … νόμος οὗτος ἀνάμερος; ἠέ νυ κῶραι, but ἠέ νυ would be hard to explain and the Doric long alpha of ἀνάμερος isolated; Wilamowitz suggested … νόμος οὗτος ἵν᾽ ἀνέρες ἠέ νυ κῶραι, but there seems no reason that men should be mentioned, when all the focus is on the death of females.

14 [658] κακαί acquires a social value, 'worthless, of low status' (LSJ II), from what follows. **προμοιρίες:** προμοιρίς does not occur elsewhere, but προμοίρως would introduce by emendation probably the only breach of Naeke's Law (*88–9*n.) in the poem; see further 16–17n.

15 [659] οὐτιδανῶν: a Homeric term, here very dismissive of parents who are 'nobodies'. **ἀριπρεπὲς εἶδος:** cf. *Od.* 8.176 εἶδος … ἀριπρεπές.

16–17 [660–1] ἦ ῥα … Πυθώ: lit. 'Indeed, this excellent [saying] is true for men Pytho'; the saying is then given in 17, with an infinitive of indirect statement. There seem four ways of explaining and/or healing the syntax. (i) Understand Πυθώ as a vocative, with ἐστί understood; Delphi is called to witness the truth of the poet's statement as the guarantor of all proverbial wisdom (see below). (ii) Emend to Πυθοῦς or perhaps Πυθοῖ, with ἐστί understood; Delphi will then be credited with the proverbial wisdom. (iii) Understand ἦ ῥα not as the particles, but as the very common Homeric

'[he/she] spoke', in which case nominative Πυθώ will be the subject. (iv) Emend ἐσθλόν to εἶπεν (Korsch). (iii) seems at best counter-intuitive (see below) and outside the parameters of experimentation even of this poem; (i) or (ii) seem the most likely. **ἦ ῥα** introduces gnomic wisdom, cf. *GVI* 857.7, 1422.5, Leonidas, *AP* 7.13.3–4 (= *HE* 2565–6) ἦ ῥα τόδ' ἔμφρων / εἶπ' ἐτύμως ἁ παῖς [sc. Ἤριννα], 'βάσκανος ἔσσ', Ἀΐδα', Meleager, *AP* 5.149.3 (= *HE* 4164). The wisdom in this case is closely related to Menander fr. 111 K–T, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήισκει νέος, and a version of that wisdom is similarly cited at *GVI* 1029.13–14 [ἦ] ῥα καλὸν γέρ[ας ἔσχον, εἰ ἀψευδ]ὴς λόγος ἀνδρῶν, / παῖδας [ἀποθνήισκειν, οὓ]ς φιλέουσι θεοί. cf. *GVI* 2003.5–6. **Πυθώ:** there is no other evidence to connect such wisdom specifically with Delphi; as Delphi was, however, the source of the most famous gnomic statements ('Know yourself', 'Nothing in excess', etc.), it was a natural home for all such popular wisdom. ***χρύσεον ὅττι γένεθλον*** 'any golden offspring'; ὅττι is apparently for ὁτιοῦν (see LSJ ὅστις IV 2b). The social tone of the verses (see 13–17n.) perhaps allows χρύσεον to suggest not just 'wonderful', but also 'rich, favoured'. Wilamowitz saw an echo of Theocr. 12.15–16 ἦ ῥα τότ' ἦσαν / χρύσειοι πάλιν ἄνδρες κτλ., but that is at least not necessary. Much more likely seems a memory of Hesiod's Golden Age, *χρύσεον* μὲν *πρώτιστα γένος* μερόπων ἀνδρῶν (*WD* 109). That race died 'as if overcome by sleep' (*WD* 116), but their afterlife as δαίμονες … ἐπιχθόνιοι … πλουτοδόται (*WD* 121–6) could not be more different from Oinanthe's sleep. **Ἀΐδα** is probably intended as an accusative, with a final short syllable, despite the following πρ-, cf. Arat. *Phain.* 299, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.61, 4.1510, Quint. Smyrn. 3.71, *GVI* 969.10; such a form probably arose by analogy with the inherited Ἀΐδος and Ἀΐδι. For the scansion cf. θνήισκουσι προμοιρίες (14). Ἄιδα as a Doric genitive with long final syllable, 'to [the house] of Hades', would give the only certain example of a breach of Naeke's Law (*88–9*n.) in the poem. **ὁδεύειν:** the stone suggests the possibility also of the future infinitive ὁδεύσειν.

LXXVII *GVI* 1871

A poem, probably of the second century AD, for Sokratea of Paros. The origin of the marble *stēlē* (now in Venice) is not clear; it may come from Paros, but 3 rather suggests that Sokratea died elsewhere. The mixture of Ionic and Doric forms is very typical of the inscriptional poetry of the late Hellenistic and early imperial period from the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor, and no firm conclusions can be drawn from this; Ionic was the standard dialect of Paros.

The poem is 'signed' on the stone by 'Dionysius of Magnesia'; no such poet of an appropriate period is otherwise known. The rhetorician

Dionysius of Magnesia, who was a friend of the young Cicero (*Brutus* 316, Plut. *Cic.* 4), seems far too early for the date indicated by the letter forms. There has been a long modern debate as to whether the subscription was inscribed at the same time as the poem and whether or not it may in fact be a Renaissance forgery; for the history of the debate see Guarducci 1942: 43–4, Cardin 2007, Santin 2009: 209–22, Garulli 2012: 123. The text on the stone has in fact a very interesting epigraphical history, as different letter shapes for the same letter are used and the text and letter forms have been partially corrected, though an old view that Dionysius himself was the corrector is no longer favoured. The poem contains some striking diction and other marks of poetic self-consciousness (see 7–8, 11, 12nn.), and it would at least not be surprising if the author thought of himself as a 'serious poet' and wanted his name to be associated with his creation.

The poem takes the very common form of a dialogue between the conventional anonymous 'passer-by' and the dead Sokratea, who speaks through the inscription on her tomb. The poem has a number of close analogues (cf. *GVI* 1858–71), notably *GVI* 1860 (certainly from Paros), 1869 (Pantikapaion) and 1870 = *SGO* 16/55/03 (Phrygia), all very likely from the first century AD. These inscribed poems have literary forebears in a series of Hellenistic poems for Prexo of Samos, who died in childbirth, and there is here a very close relationship between the 'literary' and inscribed traditions, cf. Leonidas, *AP* 7.163 (= *HE* 2395–402), Antipater, *AP* 7.164 (= *HE* 302–11), Archias, *AP* 7.165 (= *GP* 3658–65), Amyntas, *SH* 43, Garulli 2008a: 642–7, 2012: 116–34, Hunter 2021: 222–4, and, in general, Introduction, pp. 13–16.

Bibl. Cardin 2007.

1–2 [662–3] The questions imply a representation of a woman on the tomb. Very similar openings include Antipater, *AP* 7.164.1 (= *HE* 302) φράζε, γύναι, γενεὴν ὄνομα χθόνα and *GVI* 1869 (see above), φράζε τεὴν πάτρην, τεὸν οὔνομα καὶ μόρον αὔδα, / καὶ ποσέτης, λείπεις δ' εἴ τι παρ' ἀμερίοις; **χρόνον** 'your age' (at death). **πόλεως ὅθεν εἶ:** lit. '[say] of what city you are from', rather than '[say the name of] the city you are from'.

4 [665] Σωκράτεα is a rare name in this form (three other examples are known); Σωκράτεια is a better attested form, including one of Hellenistic date from Paros (*IG* XII.5, 416). **Παρμενίων** is a very common name all over the Aegean; *LGPN* I records six from Paros.

5 [666] με comes very late; normal prose order would be Παρμενίων δέ μ' ἔθετο.

6 [667] καὶ ἐσσομένοις 'also for those who will come after', a Homeric formula which enjoyed a rich afterlife in the epitaphic tradition, cf. e.g. *CEG* 136.2 (Argos, perhaps late sixth century BC), *SGO* 09/09/10.4 (Bithynia, second century AD) μνήμην ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, *GVI* 1436.4 (North Italy, imperial), 1632.2 (Tomi, imperial). The Homeric passage with the greatest influence on that tradition was perhaps Elpenor's request to Odysseus to give him proper burial, σῆμά τέ μοι χεῦαι πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης / ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι (*Od.* 11.75–6), see Hunter 2021: 221.

7–8 [668–9] are very difficult, perhaps corrupt, verses. A provisional translation might be: 'And the cruel Fury, against which there is no protection, put an end to my sweet life with a sickness in which my baby's blood gushed forth.'

The principal difficulties are: (i) The initial καί seems to have no proper function. (ii) με ... τερπνὸν ἔλυσε βίον seems to be an ungrammatical anacoluthon. It is, however, not difficult to understand: με has drifted to the head of the sentence, but the construction has changed by the end of the pentameter. Magnelli 2007a argues that the self-conscious poet here used ἔλυσε to mean 'took away' and constructed it with two accusatives, as such verbs often are (*CGCG* 30.9), or produced an example of the so-called 'schema ionicum' whereby a noun governs accusatives of both 'part and whole', such as *Il.* 24.58 Ἕκτωρ μὲν θνητός τε γυναῖκά τε θήσατο μαζόν. (iii) πικράν, if taken with με, must mean 'to my bitter cost / me who suffered bitterly', but such a usage is virtually without parallel. Reiske's πικρά is the Doric feminine nominative describing the Erinys as 'bitter, cruel'; Wilhelm 1980: 78 proposed πικρᾶι, with νόσωι, cf. *GVI* 785.1, 2034.10, but this would give a remarkable hyperbaton. (iv) It is tempting to understand νεαροῖο βρέφους ἀφύλακτος as 'without regard for my young baby', but there is no certain instance of ἀφύλακτος in that active sense. This difficulty must be considered together with αἱμορύτοιο νόσωι in the following verse. αἱμορύτοιο is an adjective and can only agree with βρέφους; hence Cardin 2007: 178 understands 'with a disease of my young child whose blood gushed', where αἱμορύτοιο 'really' goes with νόσωι by hypallage, 'with a blood-gushing disease of my young child'. On this interpretation, ἀφύλακτος will stand alone and mean 'which cannot be guarded against' (LSJ II 2). Both the expression and the word order would be extraordinary. Kaibel rightly wondered why the poet did not write αἱμορύτωι νούσωι. Emendation to the genitive αἱμορύτοιο νόσου, which some early editors read, would only help if the verse could mean 'released my sweet life from a blood-gushing disease'.

If the interpretations of Cardin 2007 and Magnelli 2007a are indeed correct, then both the construction and the word order show a poet

straining to move as far as possible away from the prosaic. On any interpretation, however, the difficulties of the passage arise from what seems to be a kind of lyric emotionalism.

Ἐρεινύς: a Fury as responsible for death is found only very rarely in the epitaphic tradition, cf. *GVI* 984.3 (Attica, second century AD) δακρυόεις Ἀΐδης σὺν Ἐρεινύσιν, *SGO* 01/18/04.5 (Caria, imperial) Ἐρεινύες κεἰμαρμένη, Thallos, *AP* 7.188.5–6 (= *GP* 3424–5). **αἱμορύτοιο:** a high-style adjective with an epic ending; the word is found elsewhere only at Aesch. fr. 230 and (with Reiske's emendation) Eur. *Hel.* 355.

10 [671] φίλαι (dative) must be an instance of the poetic usage of φίλος to refer to parts of one's own body, see LSJ I 2c. With γαστήρ, however, the expression is highly unusual; for the mother, of course, her belly, while it conceals a growing unborn child, is indeed 'dear', but after the death of both mother and child the now awkward poeticism calls attention to itself.

11 [672] 'After three decades, I reached an age of six years in addition'; χρόνον, which picks up the question of 2, is the poetic use of the accusative after ἦλθον without a preposition, with πρός in its adverbial use. Alternatively, πρός governs χρόνον: '... I reached to the age of six years'. With either interpretation, the expression again strains to avoid the ordinary. ἐτέων is to be taken with both δεκάδος and ἕξ: δεκὰς ἐτέων and similar phrases are very common in the epitaphic tradition, cf. *GVI* 386, 2038.11, Massimilla on Call. fr. 1.6.

12 [673] τέκνων ἀρσενόπαιδα γονάν 'male offspring of [i.e. consisting in] children', another highly mannered phrase. The construction goes back to *Il.* 24.539 παίδων ... γονή (and cf. Eur. *Med.* 1136 τέκνων ... δίπτυχος γονή), but our poet may be imitating Meleager, *APl.* 134.4 (= *HE* 4713) ἀρσενόπαιδα γόνον, also as the second half of the pentameter, in a poem about Niobe and her slain children. Nonnus uses ἀρσενόπαις five times in the *Dionysiaca.*

13 [674] repeats and varies the previous verse. **συνομεύνωι:** see *490*n.

14 [675] αὐτά 'I myself'. **λέλογχα:** a poetic form used only once by Homer (outside the *Hymns*), appropriately in the *nekuia*, *Od.* 11.304. For this use in epitaphic poetry cf. *GVI* 973.13–14, 1238.4 (Egypt, first century AD) στυγεροῦ τοῦδε λέλογχα τάφου.

15–16 [676–7] The 'passer-by' offers a prayer that Persephone treat Sokratea kindly, cf. in a very similar poem, *GVI* 1869.9 εὐσεβέων ναίοις ἱερὸν

δόμον. Very similar also in both sentiment and diction is the prayer which concludes another epitaph for a woman who died in childbirth, *GVI* 1158 (Cos, first century AD), [ἀλλά] μοι, ὦ βασίλεια, Διὸς πολυώνυμε Κούρα κτλ. **παμβασίλεια:** used of Hera at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.382 and, together with πολυώνυμε, *Orph. Hymn* 16.2, 9; like πολυώνυμος, this epithet could no doubt be freely applied to any female divinity, cf. Ar. *Clouds* 357, 1150. At *Orph. Hymn* 29.10 Persephone is σεμνή, παντοκράτειρα, κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα. **πολυώνυμε:** another epithet applied to more than one god; for Persephone cf. *GVI* 1158.21 (above). It is used of Hades in the rape of Persephone at *HHDem.* 18 (where see Richardson's n.). **Κούρα**: a Doricisation of the epic κούρη, Persephone's title *par excellence*, cf. Richardson on *HHDem.* 439. **εὐσεβέων χῶρον:** see *710–12*n. **ἔχουσα χερός** 'holding her by the hand'; the genitive is normal with verbs of grasping and touching, cf. *Il.* 4.154 χειρὸς ἔχων Μενέλαον, K–G I 348, *CGCG* 30.21. Persephone here plays the role of Hermes ψυχοπομπός, see *353–4*n.

17–18 [678–9] Sokratea now responds by wishing happiness to those who greet her tomb properly. **δώιη:** aorist optative. Such forms, instead of δοίη, etc., are found in later texts and inscriptions; their currency is shown by the Atticist Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 325 who condemns them, see Rutherford 1881: 429–56. **εἴπασιν χαίρειν Σωκρατέαν** 'if they say greetings to Sokratea'; countless tombs were marked simply by χαῖρε and the name of the dead, and here the passers-by are urged to utter these formulaic words or perhaps τὴν Σωκρατέαν χαίρειν, cf. e.g. *298, 508*; for the construction see *77, 508–9*nn. εἴπασιν is the dative plural participle from εἶπα, an aorist form which became very common from the fourth century BC on; for the few Attic examples see Threatte 1996: 549.

LXXVIII *IGUR* III 1344 = *GVI* 1595

A poem from Rome for the five-year-old Tineia Hygieia, who may have drowned (see 10n.); the girl's name is given by a subscription (in larger letters) on the stone. The poem perhaps dates from the second century AD.

Bibl. Obryk 2012: 48–50, Hunter 2019: 146–7.

1 [681] οὐχ ὁσίως 'wrongly, without due justification'; the phrase is found in a number of epitaphs, particularly for young children, whose death disturbs the proper order of how things should be, cf. the similar (and possibly roughly contemporary) *IGUR* III 1148.3–4 βάσκανε δαῖμον, / οἵας οὐχ ὁσίως ἐλπίδας ἐξέταμες, *SGO* 16/37/01.1 οὐχ ὁσίως Πλούτων κατέχεις

νέον ἥρωαν ἄνδρα, LSJ ὅσιος III, Wilhelm 1950: 28–9. ὅσιος has a very wide extension beyond religious behaviour (see Dover 1974: 252–3), but there is particular force in accusing a divinity of not acting ὁσίως, especially when the charge is taking a five-year-old 'bride', cf. Philip, *AP* 7.187.2 (= *GP* 3146) on an old woman who had to bury a young girl, Ἀΐδη, τοῦθ' ὁσίως κέκρικας;. **ἥρπαξες:** a relatively early example of the shift of the second person singular aorist ending from -ας to -ες, which was eventually to become standard, see Horrocks 2010: 31. ἁρπάζειν is very common of the action of Hades and Death (see Vérilhac 1982: 174–80), but the motif goes back to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (2–3 θύγατρα ... ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς / ἥρπαξεν), which is very influential both on this poem and on the whole tradition of epitaphs for young girls, who are snatched to be 'brides of death', cf. 2, Tsagalis 2008: 100–10. For the persistence of this link with marriage cf. Cat. 61.3 *rapis.* **Πλουτεῦ:** Πλουτεύς, rather than Πλούτων, as a name for Hades first appears in [Moschus], *EB* (22, 118, 126) and then in imperial inscriptions.

2 [682] νύμφην both continues the motifs of *HHDem.* and looks forward to the closing verse in which the young girl joins the Naiads. **πᾶσιν ἀγαλλομένην:** the meaning is uncertain: 'glorying in all things', i.e. delightful in every way, or 'taking delight in everything' (see *GVI* 1238.1, the death of a girl of twenty, τὴν τὸ πρὶν μεγάλοισιν ἀγαλλομένην μελάθροισι), or perhaps 'in whom all took delight', i.e. the equivalent of πᾶσιν ἄγαλμα. At *GVI* 1681. 3 a brother 'no longer takes delight' in the charms and intelligence of his now dead sister.

3–4 [683–4] Hades cut the young flower of a girl, as the flower-like Persephone (cf. *HHDem.* 8) was picking flowers when she herself was 'plucked'. The comparison of brides to flowers was common in hymeneal poetry (e.g. Eubulus fr. 102, Cat. 61.21–5, 62.39–41, Fedeli 1983: 35–6), and this is another link between marriage and death for a young girl. Very similar is *GVI* 1482a (Christian) ὡς ῥόδον εἰαρινόν σε βροτοφθόρος ἥρπασεν Ἅιδης, and cf. also *GVI* 1238.7–8, ὡς ῥόδον ἐν κήπωι κτλ., where the evocation of *HHDem.* seems clear. **ῥόδον:** roses are the first flowers named in *HHDem.* (6), and cf. Moschus, *Europa* 69–71. **εὔπνοον:** the flower that deceived Persephone in *HHDem.* 'smelled most sweetly' (13); here the motif is re-applied in the simile describing the girl herself. One of the flowers picked by the girls in Moschus' *Europa* is νάρκισσος εὔπνοος (65). **ἐξέτεμες ῥίζης** 'cut off from the root'.

5 [685] Φίλτατε: as a proper name rather than a term of endearment, Φίλτατος is well attested in various parts of the Greek world.

5–6 [685–6] μηκέτ᾽ … μυρόμενοι 'no longer pour libations for your lovely daughter with your laments as you grieve'; for the dative with σπένδειν cf. *Od.* 12.363 ὕδατι σπένδοντες, Pind. *Isthm.* 6.9 σπένδειν … ἀοιδαῖς. For the request to cease from lamentation see *695*n.

7–10 [687–90] give the reason why the parents should cease from their weeping: their daughter has become an immortal nymph.

7 [687] The emphatic repetition both consoles the parents and puts the girl's χάρις, 'charm, grace', beyond doubt. **ἡδυχρόοισι** 'of sweet complexion', to match the sweet-smelling rose.

8 [688] αἰθέρος: that the souls of the dead lived on in the upper air with the gods is a common idea in epitaphs from the classical period onwards, cf. e.g. XLII, Lattimore 1942: 31–5. The spatial relation between this claim and that of 9–10 is not to be pressed too hard. **μένειν** has almost the sense familiar in mod. Greek of 'dwell'.

9–10 [689–90] The girl's death is compared to the stories of 'old myths', most probably to that of Hylas who was dragged into a pool by an enamoured nymph (or nymphs), cf. Theocr. 13, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.1207–72, Prop. 1.20, etc. The story of Hylas, which in the versions of Theocritus and Apollonius itself is shaped by the story of Persephone in *HHDem.*, is echoed in several funerary epigrams (see Hunter 1993: 40–1, 2019: 146, Wypustek 2013: 157–75), and the idea that death is really an abduction by nymphs is found in both literature (Call. *Epigr.* 22 = *HE* 1211–14) and inscriptions, see Nock 1972: 924–5. As the Naiads are properly water-nymphs, we are perhaps to understand that the young girl drowned, cf. *GVI* 952 νύμφαι κρηναῖαί με συνήρπασαν ἐκ βιότοιο κτλ., 412, Hunter 2019, but neat distinctions between categories of nymphs are constantly blurred, see Hunter–Laemmle on Eur. *Cycl.* 429–30. **ὡς τερπνήν** 'as a source of pleasure'. The adjective seems rather awkward (we might have expected a noun such as τέρψιν or τέρπος), but the parents are assured that the child who was a source of pleasure on earth is now performing that role elsewhere.

LXXIX *SGO* 04/05/07 = *GVI* 1993

A hexameter poem of uncertain date, but presumably imperial, from Lydia; the inscription is badly worn and many letters are very difficult to read. A girl who has apparently been killed by lightning appears to her mother after death to comfort her; the girl's narrative in 1–4 is rapid, and not all the details are clear. The language is markedly Homeric (see Introduction, pp. 5–6) and the girl's nocturnal appearance is modelled

on Homeric dream scenes. On another side of the stone was inscribed a further, now very fragmentary, poem, apparently on the same subject.

Bibl. Hunter 2018: 19–21.

1 [691] The verse is almost identical to *Il.* 4.166, and cf. also Hes. *WD* 18; the Iliadic verse begins Ζεὺς δέ σφι, but αὐτός begins the following verse (*Il.* 4.167). Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος occurs three times in *Il.* in this position. The grand opening prepares for the central message of the poem: do not grieve, for Zeus has arranged everything for the best. **ὑψίζυγος:** the poet almost certainly understood 'sitting high up (like a helmsman)'; ζυγόν can refer to the seat where the helmsman sits high at the back of the boat above the rowers, cf. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 75, Eustath. *Hom.* 460.24, *LfgrE* ὑψίζυγος, Fraenkel 1950: II 109–10, III 766.

2 [692] ἐξείλετο θυμόν closes a hexameter four times in Homer.

3 [693] οὐκ ἤμ[ην] βροτός seems to combine 'I was dead' with 'I had become immortal', cf. 7, *GVI* 1283.7 οὐδ' ἄρα θνητὸς ἔην in a similar context; the thought is expressed in a different mode in some of the 'gold leaves' (Introduction, pp. 24–5), cf. *Orph.* fr. 487 Bernabé θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου. People, such as Semele, who were struck by lightning were felt to be particularly close to the divine, if not in fact themselves in some sense immortal, see Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 6–12, West on Hes. *Theog.* 942. Welcker, conversely, suggested οὐκ ἦν [ἄμ]βροτος – the typical consolation of the inevitability of death. **ἤμ[ην]:** a *koinē* first person singular imperfect, sometimes found in the MSS of classical authors, see Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 931. **[ἰ]θύ** 'straightaway'. **παρέστ[ην]** suggests that the dead girl stood beside her sleeping (or lamenting) mother. In Homer, dream apparitions 'stand over the head' (στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς) of the dreamer (*Il.* 2.20, 23.68, *Od.* 6.21).

4 [694] νυκτὶ μελαινοτάτηι strengthens the Homeric νυκτὶ μελαίνηι (five examples). This superlative form, rather than μελάντατος, appears first here and at Lucillius, *AP* 11.68.2 (= 5.2 Floridi). **ἑρμηνεύουσα** means little more than 'saying', but is a solemn word for a very unusual event. **τάδ' οὕτως** is not found as a part of speech introduction in Homer. Although Homeric dream scenes are the principal structural model here, the language and imagination of the scene are quite non-Homeric.

5 [695] The request to cease from lamentation is very common, cf. *540–3*, *685–6*, *GVI* 971.3–4 (imperial Bithynia) μῆτερ ἐμή, θρήνων ἀποπαύεο, λῆξον ὀδυρμῶν / καὶ κοπετῶν, Lattimore 1942: 217–18; Introduction, p. 7. The

chiastic arrangement lends solemnity and authority to the consolatory utterance. **Μελιτίνη:** the first syllable is artificially lengthened in imitation of Homeric licences (West 1982: 38); without such licence, the name could not be used in dactylic verse, see *204*n. The name itself, 'Honeyed lady', is quite common in Asia Minor.

6 [696] ψυχῆς: the girl's spirit is taken up to heaven, while her σῶμα has been utterly destroyed (2), cf. XLII; for this theme in general see Lattimore 1942: 31–9. **Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος:** a Homeric verse-ending (*Il.* 12.252, 24.529); the epithet is somewhat double-edged, given what has happened.

7 [697] Cf. Calypso's offer to Odysseus, θήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα (*Od.* 5.136, 7.257, 23.336), though Calypso naturally wants the hero to keep both body and ψυχή; τεύξας here replaces θήσειν.

8 [698] ἁρπάξας ἐκόμι[σσ']: two further verbs governing ἥν; the asyndeton (τεύξας ... ἁρπάξας) is eased by the fact that ἁρπάξας ἐκόμι[σσ'] forms a single verbal idea, 'carried off'. ἁρπάζειν is the standard verb for divine 'snatching' of all kinds, and is very common in epitaphs of the action of Hades (*681*n.); here we may rather be reminded of Ganymede, cf. XLII. **οὐρανὸν ἀστερό[εν]τα** closes a verse five times in Homer, cf. *356*.

LXXX *SEG* 45.641

A poem from Euhydrion on the plain of Thessaly, probably of the third century AD, for eighteen-year-old Zoe, who died during her first labour. The second and final verses are pentameters, the rest hexameters, see Introduction, p. 4; the poet, rather than the stonecutter, seems responsible for 'errors' of prosody and metre (see 3, 6, 8, 9nn.). The pentameters act as a kind of epitaphic marker for a predominantly hexameter poem, but the whole is structured in sense into couplets. Alliteration (predominantly of π) and repetition suggest the patterns of lament. The poem is very regularly set out on the *stēlē*, with each verse occupying two lines and lines broken within a word where the space demands it.

Bibl. Chaniotis 2004 (cf. *SEG* 54.555).

1 [699] The central caesura after στήλην and an echoing chiastic structure to the whole verse introduce the mannered effects of the poem to come. **φίλε** creates an intimacy with the 'passer-by' which invites him or her to share the grief of the family.

2 [700] κάτθανε γὰρ Ζωή plays on the pathos of the dead girl's name. **οὔνομα κλησκομένη**, 'as she was called by name', draws attention to the etymological play. κλήσκομαι, as a variant of κικλήσκομαι, does not seem to appear elsewhere.

3 [701] ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης: see *73*n. Such forms are common in inscriptional verse, standardly filling a hexameter to the masculine caesura or the first half of a pentameter. **δάκρυα:** the second syllable is lengthened *metri gratia*; the poet has perhaps adapted a pentameter formula, cf. *GVI* 48.4 (late Hellenistic Amorgos) ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης ματρὶ λιπὼν δάκρυα.

4 [702] There is hiatus at the central caesura, cf. 8. **πάπποις:** grief spans three generations, but the poem is strikingly silent about Zoe's husband. **οὗπερ** apparently means 'when'; one might consider οἷσπερ, 'to whom'. **γαίης λίπε πένθη:** the dead leave behind the misery and needs of the living, cf. LXXXI, *SEG* 63.1286–7 (imperial Lycia) οὐδ᾽ ἔτι νούσων / οὐκ ἀχέων ἄλλων πίμπλαμαι οὐδὲ πόνων, *GVI* 1198.7 Lethe puts an end to χαλεπαὶ μέριμναι.

5 [703] τέκνον: the first syllable is lengthened by -κν; contrast 8, 9 and 10. **ἄωρον** 'premature' (572n.), and thus probably stillborn or dead very soon after birth, see 9n.

6 [704] ἄφωνος: the final syllable is treated as short despite -σ λ-. It is unclear whether the implication is that Zoe died of voiceless grief at the death of her child or without the cries of physical pain that one would have expected.

7 [705] Πηνειός: Zoe's father bears the name of the most important Thessalian river, and the poet plays with the shedding of his tears as like the flow of the river's stream; for such a conceit cf. e.g. [Moschus], *EB* 70–5 (the river Meles weeping for Homer and Bion). As a personal name, Peneios is rare, but certainly attested outside Thessaly. **χεύων δάκρυ:** a variation on δακρυχέων.

8 [706] There is hiatus at the central caesura, and the fifth foot (ἕν τε κοὐκ) is a cretic rather than a dactyl. **φίληι ἀλόχωι:** the hiatus imitates Homeric examples, e.g. *Il.* 9.556, 24.36, *Od.* 1.432.

9 [707] The meaning is uncertain. ἐξ αὐτῆς … λιπούσης might be 'after her departure', the so-called '*ab urbe condita* construction' (K–G II 78, 82), and the meaning would be that Zoe's parents did not have another child after her death; ἐξαῦτις (Chaniotis) would give the same meaning, but leaves λιπούσης without a subject. Alternatively, the sense might be

'they did not have a child from her after her death [because her child was stillborn]'; contrast *481*n. It would be absurd to say that Zoe produced no *further* grandchildren for them after her death. **τέκνον:** the second syllable is treated as short despite -ν φ- or, alternatively, a cretic replaces a dactyl in the fourth foot, cf. 8n. **φωτὶ λιπούσης:** if correct, there seem two possible interpretations. (i) φωτί, instead of the accusative, is a hypercorrect (and false) use of the dative case, which was already gradually disappearing from the spoken language, perhaps under pressure to vary the accusative of 6. (ii) φωτί is an otherwise unattested, but regularly formed, diminutive of φῶς which the poet has introduced, presumably from the vernacular. In view of the complete lack of other evidence for a noun φωτί, however, and the fact that the poem shows no other such stylistic feature, there must be a preference for (i). φῶς λιπ- (Chaniotis) would be unmetrical, unless λιπ- is written for the present tense λειπ- (producing the only fifth-foot spondee in the poem), and the error difficult to explain.

10 [708] καρτέρεον βίοτον: Zoe's parents no longer have her (Ζωή, 'Life'), but they endure the act of being alive, βίοτος. The phrase is closely akin to Eur. *Her.* 1351 ἐγκατερήσω βίοτον [Wecklein: θάνατον L]; we need not see here an echo of that verse (and hence support for Wecklein's conjecture), but that is not ruled out. The verse is spoken by Heracles, who is not technically ἄτεκνος, but is speaking of his life after the killing of his children. The phrase captures life after Zoe for her parents with remarkable poignancy. καρτέρεον is the unaugmented imperfect.

LXXXI *IGUR* III 1146 = *GVI* 1830

A Roman epitaph in hexameters, probably of the third century AD, for a seven-year-old girl; a subscription names her as Aelia Prote and her father as Poplius Aelius Abaskantos. *LGPN* IIIa records five girls called Πρώτη from southern Italy. The subscription also records (with sad precision) that she lived 7 years, 11 months and 27 days. The verses were inscribed on a marble tablet so that every hexameter occupies two lines and the break always occurs after the fourth long of the verse; words are separated by dots in the middle of the line. There is a heavy (and sophisticated) debt to both Homer and Hesiod; the central verses of the poem are not a cento, but certainly fit easily into a poetic world in which centos and cento-like poetry were very familiar, see Hunter 2018: 17–20.

Bibl. Cairon 2006, Obryk 2012: 71–2.

1 [709] οὐκ ἔθανες: the language of 'death' is not to be applied to Prote's fate; the poet perhaps remembered the Attic drinking-song in honour of

the tyrant-killer Harmodios, *PMG* 894 φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι', οὔ τί πω τέθνηκας, / νήσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι; this skolion was very familiar to the anthological and grammatical traditions. Callimachus uses the inappropriateness of θνήισκειν to point to euphemism (Σάων ... ἱερὸν ὕπνον / κοιμᾶται· θνήισκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς ἀγαθούς (*Epigr.* 9 = *HE* 1231–2), see Hunter 2019: 142), but here 'death' would really misrepresent; Prote will, like Hesiod's Golden Race, be forever young. A standard hexameter on the 'gold leaves' (Introduction, pp. 24–5) is νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῶιδε (*Orph.* frr. 485–6 Bernabé); the Prote poem puts a different spin on a similar idea. **μετέβης δ' ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον** 'but you moved/changed your abode to a better place'. The language is strikingly like [Pl.] *Axiochus* 372a12–13 (Axiochus looking forward to death) ἅτε εἰς ἀμείνω οἶκον μεταστησόμενος; it is not improbable that the poet or the girl's father knew the *Axiochus*, a consolatory work of perhaps the first century BC which was widely read. The idea of death as a 'change of abode' is common and genuinely Platonic, cf. *Apol.* 40c9 μετοίκησις ... εἰς ἄλλον τόπον (cf. [Plut.], *Consolation* 108d–e), *Phaedo* 117c2, *Apol.* 40e4 ἀποδημεῖν, Cic. *TD* 1.27 *quasi migrationem commutationemque uitae*; μετάστασις is used of death as early as Polyb. 30.2.5 and cf. Lucian, *On grief* 15. Lucian has fun with the idea at *Dial. Mort.* 3.1, where in the Underworld Croesus tells Pluto that he and other ghosts like him 'will move (μετοικήσομεν) to another place' if Menippus keeps mocking them. That death is a 'better place' sounds very like some modern forms of consolation and/or self-deception, but the *Axiochus* seems to be the only close ancient parallel. At the very close of Pl. *Apol.*, however, Socrates raises the question as to whether he, who is to die, or the jurors, who will continue with their lives, will leave ἐπὶ ἄμεινον πρᾶγμα (42a4), and this may perhaps echo epitaphic language, see 7n.: the passers-by should mourn and then go their way ἐπὶ πρᾶγμ' ἀγαθόν.

2–4 [710–12] The 'Isles of the Blessed' first appear as the post-mortem abode of Hesiod's fourth race of ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, see *WD* 170–1 (echoed here) καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες / ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην (with West's n.). The poet exploits the similarity between life on these islands and Hesiod's description of the first Golden Race, *WD* 113–15; *WD* 115 is echoed in v. 4. The 'Elysian Plain' first appears at *Od.* 4.563 as the calm place beside Ocean 'at the extremities of the earth' where the gods will send Menelaos after death (Introduction, p. 23), and 5 echoes v. 567 of the Homeric description (see 5–6n.); subsequently, the Elysian Plain was standardly identified with a particular spot on the Isle(s) of the Blessed, as it is imagined here and in Lucian's *True Histories* (2.14), cf. Bernand 73.8 οἰκεῖ μακάρων Ἠλύσιον πεδίον. The Hesiodic and Homeric material are often cited together in the grammatical tradition,

cf. Schol. Hes. *WD* 171, 171–3, Hom. *Od.* 4.563b–c Pontani, and our poet draws on a very rich tradition which had cross-fertilised long before this poem; so too, images for the afterlife of the blessed and pious freely use language associated with the afterlife of the initiated, see Lattimore 1942: 36, Dickie 1998, Peres 2003: 75–81, Introduction, pp. 26–7. Bernand 73 shows how ideas of Elysium were also adapted to Egyptian views of the afterlife. For the debate about the origin and development of the idea of Elysium see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 17–56.

2 [710] νήσους: both a plurality (Hesiod, Pl. *Gorg.* 524a3, 526c5, *EG* 1046.9, *GVI* 1693) and a single such island (Pind. *Ol.* 2.70–80, Lucian, *VH* 2.6, 27, *GVI* 1932.2) are known to both literature and inscriptional poetry, see Capelle 1927/8, Andreae 1963: 134. Very similar to the present instance is *IGUR* III 1226, which may be roughly contemporary and also recalls the Hesiodic descriptions. **θαλίηι ἔνι πολλῆι:** the accent on a disyllabic preposition is thrown back ('anastrophe') when the preposition follows the noun, see *80–1*n. The phrase recalls Hes. *WD* 115 (the Golden Race) τέρποντ᾽ ἐν θαλίηισι (see 4n.), but the clausula is taken from *Il.* 9.143 = 285 (Orestes) ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίηι ἔνι πολλῆι, which is cited in the scholia to *WD* 115b. The echo perhaps suggests that we are to understand that Prote too was τηλύγετος, a word of disputed meaning but often understood as ἀγαπητός and/or μονογενής or ὀψίγονος, 'late-born', i.e. when the parents were already beyond the normal age for having a child, cf. *LfgrE*, Richardson 1974: 200. Might Πρώτη, 'First', have been a late-born and only child? For play with the name in an epitaph cf. Crinagoras, *AP* 5.108 (= *GP* 1841–6).

3 [711] κατ᾽ Ἠλυσίων πεδίων: for the plural cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1.38, *SGO* 08/01/50, *GVI* 1764; the singular is more common in epitaphs. One of the etymologies for Ἠλύσιον in the grammatical tradition was from λύειν or λύσις, because there one was 'released' from trouble and/or the chains of life (cf. e.g. Schol. *Od.* 4.563), and in 4 we should be aware of that etymology. κατά must here simply denote 'over'. **σκιρτῶσα:** like a carefree young animal, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 445–6 (the Bacchants freed from prison) and the dancing and leaping of the chorus of initiates in Ar. *Frogs*.

4 [712] ἄνθεσιν ἐν μαλακοῖσι: flowers are a standard feature of Elysium and the Isles of the Blessed, cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 2.72–5, fr. 129.3–8 M, Ar. *Frogs* 351, 373, 441, [Pl.] *Axiochus* 371c8–9, Lucian, *VH* 2.6, 13–14, *CLE* 1233.18 (Courtney 1995: no. 184.18) *florigero in prato.* **κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων:** cf. Hes. *WD* 115–16 (the Golden Race) τέρποντ᾽ ἐν θαλίηισι, κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων· / θνῆισκον δ᾽ ὥσθ᾽ ὕπνωι δεδμημένοι. Once

again, the echoes of earlier poetry encourage us to wonder how Prote herself died.

5–6 [713–14] In addition to the continuing importance of Hesiod's description of the Golden Race (cf. *660–1*n.), these verses combine echoes of two Homeric passages which are regularly found in association with each other (cf. e.g. Eudocia, *Hom.* 47–54) and in association with Hes. *WD* 115–16. One is Menelaos' description of Elysium at *Od.* 4.565–8 (cited in Introduction, p. 23), and the other is Eumaeus' description of the island of Syrie at *Od.* 15.407–11:

> πείνη δ' οὔ ποτε δῆμον ἐσέρχεται, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη
> νοῦσος ἐπὶ στυγερὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
> ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πόλιν κάτα φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,
> ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
> οἷσ' ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.

Once again, the *Axiochus* shows a very similar formulation, under the influence of the same Homeric verses, οὔτε γὰρ χεῖμα σφοδρὸν οὔτε θάλπος ἐγγίγνεται (371d3–4). On the Isles of the Blessed there is no burning summer or freezing winter, just perpetual spring, the season of flowers, cf. Lucian, *VH* 2.12. In *On grief* Lucian makes the corpse point out that a more truthful way of lamentation would be 'My wretched child, no longer will you be thirsty, no longer will you be hungry or cold. You are gone, alas, escaping diseases, no longer fearing fever or an enemy or a tyrant' (17), cf. Seneca, *Ad Polybium* 9.4–5. The idea of the searing heat of the common Underworld has very deep roots in ancient eschatology; in the Platonic 'Myth of Er', all the souls must travel to 'the plain of Forgetfulness' (cf. *472*n.) διὰ καύματός τε καὶ πνίγους δεινοῦ, 'through terrible stifling heat' (Pl. *Rep.* 10.621a2–3).

5 [713] A strikingly spondaic verse lends sonorous seriousness to the pronouncement. **λυπεῖ** may seem a slightly awkward verb for χειμών, but the happy afterlife is traditionally ἄλυπος, cf. e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 346, [Pl.], *Axiochus* 370d3–4, Plut. *Mor.* 611c (the death of a two-year-old girl). That the dead more generally feel no pain nor suffer ill is a commonplace in literature from an early date (see Finglass on Soph. *El.* 1170), but that is a different notion from the special privileges of the 'happy afterlife', see Introduction, pp. 23–8.

6 [714] The articulation of the verse adopted here follows that of the tablet, with ΠΙΝΗΣ understood as πεινῇς, 'you are hungry'. Most editors articulate as οὐ πίνη (i.e. πείνη) σ', οὐ δίψος ἔχει σ', 'no hunger, no thirst

grips you'. *Od.* 15.407 (see 5–6n.) is the only occurrence of πείνη in Homer. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 8.2 has fun with the idea that none of the dead need go hungry or thirsty, but that is not our poet's point; Prote is special. **δίψος:** Prote will certainly not suffer like Tantalos or the thirsty dead of the 'gold leaves' (Introduction, pp. 24–5); that the dead feel thirst 'is a universal belief that is still maintained in popular traditions' (Bernabé–Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 29, citing bibliography), see Vermeule 1979: 57–9.

6–7 [714–15] οὐδὲ ποθεινὸς … βίοτος reverses the idea that the dead are ποθεινοί to those left behind, cf. e.g. *CEG* 485, 501, 683. It is a 'natural' assumption (or was before Plato and then Epicurus) that the dead 'miss' life's alleged pleasures, cf. [Pl.] *Axiochus* 365d5, but Prote's new 'life' means that she will have no regrets; it is a standard theme of the consolatory literature of the Roman empire that the pious dead are far better off than the living. Lucian, *On grief* 16 also rejects the assumption that the dead have regrets, though for quite different reasons, whereas his Underworld dialogues are full of the dead lamenting what they have lost, cf. e.g. *Dial. Mort.* 3.1. **ζώεις** pointedly picks up the opening οὐκ ἔθανες. **ἀμέμπτως** 'without (grounds for) complaint'. The adverb unusually responds to ἄμεμπτος in the sense 'not blaming' (LSJ II), rather than 'blameless'; ἀμέμπτως in the encomiastic sense of the dead who had lived 'blamelessly' is very common in inscriptions, and may be intended here, but γάρ perhaps rather points to the former sense.

8 [716] αὐγαῖς ἐν καθαραῖσιν: the unusual quality of the light in Elysium and the Isles of the Blessed is often remarked, cf. Ar. *Frogs* 454–5 ἥλιος / καὶ φέγγος ἱερόν, [Pl.] *Axiochus* 371d5, Plut. fr. 178 Sandbach (the Mysteries) φῶς τι θαυμάσιον, Virg. *Aen.* 6.640–1 (with Austin's n.). The description of Olympus at *Od.* 6.42–6, a description not unlike that of Elysium at *Od.* 4.566–8, notes the clear air and λευκὴ … αἴγλη of the mountain, and this may be relevant to the poet's claim that Prote is now 'near Olympus', though Hesiod had placed the Islands of the Blessed beside Ocean ἐς πείρατα γαίης. That the ψυχή of the dead ascends to Olympus is a related idea found in epitaphs as early as the fourth century BC (*CEG* 558), cf. e.g. XLII. **ὄντως** 'quite certainly'. ὄντως, ἔτυμως and ἀληθῶς are not uncommon in inscriptions to urge the truth of what is being stated, cf. *IGUR* III 1162.5, 1266, Robert 1960: 551–2, 1965: 104. Here the adverb offers reassurance to those left behind, but the point conveyed remains uncertain; ὄντος (Fleetwood) deserves consideration: 'Olympus which is close by'.

GLOSSARY

boustrophēdon (βουστροφηδόν), 'turning like an ox', refers to writing in which the lines run alternatively left-to-right and right-to-left.

stoichēdon (στοιχηδόν), 'row by row', refers to writing in which each line contains the same number of letters and the letters are aligned vertically as well as horizontally, in a grid pattern.

For both of these terms cf. Woodhead 1959: 24–34.

WORKS CITED

Adak, M. and Atvur, O. 1997. 'Das Grabhaus des Zosimas und der Schiffseigner Eudemos aus Olympos in Lykien', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 28: 11–31

Agosti, G. 2008. 'Literariness and levels of style in epigraphical poetry of late antiquity' in R. Hunter and K. Carvounis eds., *Signs of Life? Studies in Later Greek Poetry*, *Ramus* 37: 191–213

Alexiou, M. 2002. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 2nd ed., Lanham MD

Allen, F. D. 1888. 'On Greek versification in inscriptions', *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 4: 35–204

Allen, W. S. 1987. *Vox Graeca*, 3rd ed., Cambridge

Alonso Déniz, A. and Nieto Izquierdo, E. 2009. 'Dialecto local y dialecto épico en las inscripciones métricas de la Argólide', *Minerva* 22: 83–105

Ameling, W. 1985. 'ΦΑΓΩΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΩΜΕΝ. Griechische Parallelen zu zwei Stellen aus dem Neuen Testament', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 60: 35–43

Andreae, B. 1963. *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst*, Heidelberg

Arnott, W. G. 1996. *Alexis, the Fragments*, Cambridge

2007. *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London

Austin, R. P. 1938. *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford

Avagianou, A. 2002. 'Physiology and mysticism at Pherai. The funerary epigram for Lykophron', *Kernos* 15: 75–89

Bakker, E. J. 2016. 'Archaic epigram and the Seal of Theognis' in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 195–213

Barbantani, S. 2019. 'Hellenistic and Roman military epitaphs on stone and on papyrus' in Kanellou–Petrovic–Carey 2019: 154–75

Barrett, W. S. 1964. *Euripides: Hippolytos*, Oxford

Baumbach, M., Petrovic, A. and Petrovic, I. eds. 2010a. *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram*, Cambridge

2010b. 'Archaic and classical Greek epigram: an introduction' in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 1–19

Beekes, R. S. P. 1995/6. 'Aithiopes', *Glotta* 73: 12–34

Bentz, M. 2007. 'Torch race and vase-painting' in O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri eds., *The Panathenaic Games* (Oxford) 73–80

Bérard, V. 1888. 'Inscription du Laurium', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 12: 246–8

Bernabé, A. and Jiménez San Cristóbal, A. I. 2008. *Instructions for the Netherworld: The Orphic Gold Tablets*, Leiden

Bernard, P. 2005. 'Hellenistic Arachosia. A Greek melting pot in action', *East and West* 55: 13–34
Bernard, P., Pinault, G. and Rougemont, G. 2004. 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions de l'Asie centrale', *Journal des Savants* 2004: 227–356
Bettini, M. 1982. 'A proposito dei versi sotadei, greci e romani: con alcuni capitoli di "annalisi metrica lineare"', *Materiali e Discussioni* 9: 59–105
Bevan, E. 1927. *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London
Bing, P. 1998. 'La culture littéraire d'Alexandrie au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.' in *La gloire d' Alexandrie* (Paris) 133–5
2009. *The Scroll and the Marble*, Ann Arbor
2017. 'Homer in the Σωρός' in Durbec–Trabjer 2017: 99–113
Bing, P. and Bruss, J. S. 2007. *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*, Leiden
Blech, M. 1982. *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin
Bömer, F. 1980. *P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen Buch X–XI*, Heidelberg
Bonner, C. 1941. 'Desired haven', *Harvard Theological Review* 34: 49–67
Bousquet, J. 1988. 'Épigrammes', *Revue des études grecques* 101: 304–14
Bowie, E. 2010. 'Epigram as narration' in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 313–84
2016. 'Doing Doric' in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 3–22
Bowra, C. M. 1938. *Early Greek Elegists*, Oxford
Bradeen, D. W. 1974. *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. XVII: *Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments*, Princeton
Bremmer, J. 2006. 'A Macedonian maenad in Posidippus (AB 44)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 155: 37–40
Brennan, T. 1996. 'Epicurus on sex, marriage, and children', *Classical Philology* 91: 346–52
Breuer, C. 1995. *Reliefs und Epigramme griechischer Privatgrabmäler*, Vienna
Brink, C. O. 1971. *Horace on Poetry: the Ars Poetica*, Cambridge
Brown, N. 2019. 'Phrasikleia. Playing with signs' in J. Harrisson ed., *Imagining the Afterlife in the Ancient World* (Abingdon) 33–48
Bruss, J. S. 2005. *Hidden Presences: Monuments, Gravestones, and Corpses in Greek Funerary Epigram*, Leuven
2010. 'Ecphrasis in fits and starts? Down to 300 BC' in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 385–403
Bubeník, V. 1989. *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area*, Amsterdam
Buck, C. D. 1955. *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago
Buckler, W. H. and Calder, W. M. eds. 1923. *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, Manchester
Buckler, W. H. and Robinson, D. M. 1932. *Sardis*, Vol. VII: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Sardis

Burnett, A. P. 1965. 'The virtues of Admetus', *Classical Philology* 60: 240–55

Büyükkolancı, P., Gronewald, M. and Engelmann, H. 2009. 'Grabepigramm auf den Sklaven Hyllos', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 169: 87–8

Cairns, D. 1993. *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Greek Literature*, Oxford

Cairns, F. 2016. *Hellenistic Epigram: Contexts of Exploration*, Cambridge

Cairon, E. 2006. 'Une vie bienheureuse dans l'au-delà. L'épigramme pour Prôté, *IGUR*, 3, nº 1146', *Revue des études grecques* 119: 776–81

2009. *Les Épitaphes métriques hellénistiques du Péloponnèse à la Thessalie*, Budapest

Calame, C. 1996. *L'Éros dans la Grèce antique*, Paris

Calder, W. M. III. 1975. 'The Alkestis inscription from Odessos: IGBR I² 222', *American Journal of Archaeology* 79: 80–3

Calderón Dorda, E. 2009. 'Tipología del hexametro en las inscripciones funerarias griegas de los siglos II–III D. C.' in Martínez Fernández 2009: 195–203

Cameron, A. 1995. *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton

Capelle, P. 1927/8. 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 25: 245–64, 26: 17–40

Cardin, M. 2007. 'L'epitafio per Socratea di Paro. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venezia (Nr. Inv. 157)' in G. C. Marrone and A. Pistellato eds., *Studi in ricordo di Fulviomario Broilo* (Padua) 169–98

Casey, E. 2004. 'Binding speeches: giving voice to deadly thoughts in Greek epitaphs' in I. Sluiter and R. Rosen eds., *Free Speech in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden) 63–90

Cassio, A. C. 2007. 'Scultori, epigrammi e dialetti nella Grecia antica: la stele di Mnasitheos (*SEG* 49, 1999, Nr. 505)' in G. Lozza and S. M. Tempesta eds., *L'epigramma Greco: Problemi e prospettivi* (Milan) 1–18

2019. 'Metamorfosi della lingua epica tra Oriente e Occidente' in A. Willi ed., *Formes et fonctions des langues littéraires en Grèce ancienne* (Geneva) 7–54

Cazzaniga, I. 1974. 'Gorgos di Claros e la sua attività letteraria', *Parola del Passato* 29: 145–52

Ceccarelli, P. 2016. 'Gorgos of Kolophon (17)', *Brill's New Jacoby*, 2nd edition (online)

Chaniotis, A. 1992. 'Die Inschriften von Amnisos' in J. Schäfer ed., *Amnisos nach den archäologischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Berlin) 287–322

2000. 'Das Jenseits: eine Gegenwelt?' in T. Hölscher ed., *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike* (Leipzig) 159–81

2004. 'Der Tod des Lebens und die Tränen des Peneios: eine thessalische Grabelegie' in A. Horning, C. Jäkel and W. Schubert eds., *Studia humanitatis ac litterarum Trifolio Heidelbergensi dedicata* (Frankfurt) 39–43

2009. 'Lament for a young man: a new epigram from Aphrodisias' in Martínez Fernández 2009: 469–77

2010. '"The best of Homer": Homeric texts, performances and images in the Hellenistic world and beyond. The contribution of inscriptions' in E. Walter-Karydi ed., *Myths, Texts, Images: Homeric Epics and Ancient Greek Art* (Ithaca NY) 257–78

2012. 'Moving stones: the study of emotions in Greek inscriptions' in A. Chaniotis ed., *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World* (Stuttgart) 91–129

Christian, T. 2015. *Gebildete Steine: Zur Rezeption literarischer Techniken in den Versinschriften seit dem Hellenismus*, Göttingen

Cingano, E. 2015. '*Epigonoi*' in M. Fantuzzi and C. Tsagalis eds., *The Greek Epic Cycle and its Ancient Reception* (Cambridge) 244–60

2021. 'From epinician praise to the poetry of encomium on stone: *CEG* 177, 819, 888–9 and the Hyssaldomos inscription' in M. Fantuzzi, H. Morales and T. Whitmarsh eds., *Reception in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge) 72–91

Citroni, M. 2019. 'What is an epigram?: defining a genre' in C. Henriksén ed., *A Companion to Ancient Epigram* (Hoboken NJ) 21–42

Clairmont, C. W. 1970. *Gravestone and Epigram*, Mainz

1979. 'The lekythos of Myrrhine' in G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore eds., *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley NY) 103–10

Clarke, M. 1999. *Flesh and Spirit in the Songs of Homer*, Oxford

Connelly, J. B. 2007. *Portrait of a Priestess*, Princeton

Coppola, G. 1931. 'L'Heroon di Atilia Pomptilla in Cagliari', *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei* 7: 388–437

Coughlan, T. 2016. 'Dialect and imitation in late Hellenistic epigram' in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 37–70

2020. 'The poetics of dialect in the self-epitaphs of Nossis and Leonidas of Tarentum', *Classical Philology* 115: 607–29

Courtney, E. 1995. *Musa Lapidaria: A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions*, Atlanta

Cozza-Luzi, G. 1902. 'Petronia Musa', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* 30: 264–80

Cremer, M. 1991. *Hellenistisch-römische Grabstelen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, I: *Mysien*, Bonn

Cribiore, R. 1995. 'A hymn to the Nile', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 106: 97–106

2001. ‘The grammarian’s choice: the popularity of Euripides’ *Phoenissae* in Hellenistic and Roman education’ in Y. L. Too ed., *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden) 241–59
Crönert, W. 1910. ‘Ein Epigramm aus Astypalaia’, *Rheinisches Museum* 65: 636–7
Csapo, E. 2004. ‘The politics of the New Music’ in P. Murray and P. Wilson eds., *Music and the Muses* (Oxford) 207–48
Cugusi, P. 2003. *Carmina latina epigraphica provinciae Sardiniae*, Bologna
Daux, G. 1973. ‘Les ambiguïtés de *grec* κόρη’, *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions* 382–93
Day, J. D. 1989. ‘Rituals in stone: early Greek epigrams and monuments’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109: 16–28
2016. ‘From elegy to epigram: performative aspects of archaic verse inscriptions’, *Stanford Workshop on Oral Literature and Literate Orality* (pdf available online)
Decharme, P. 1867. ‘Recueil d’inscriptions inédites de Béotie’, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 4: 483–539
Demangel, R. and Laumonier, A. 1922. ‘Inscriptions d’Ionie’, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 46: 307–55
Derderian, K. 2001. *Leaving Words to Remember: Greek Mourning and the Advent of Literacy*, Leiden
De Sanctis, G. 1932. ‘Cronache e commenti’, *Rivista di Filologia e d’Istruzione Classica* 10: 415–28
Dickey, E. 1996. *Greek Forms of Address from Herodotus to Lucian*, Oxford
Dickie, M. 1994. ‘An epitaph from Stratonikeia in Caria’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100: 109–18
1998. ‘Poets as initiates in the Mysteries: Euphorion, Philicus and Posidippus’, *Antike und Abendland* 44: 49–77
Diggle, J. 2004. *Theophrastus, Characters*, Cambridge
Di Marco, M. 1997. ‘Un motivo dell’epigramma funebre in Sofocle (*Ai.* 845–851)’, *Materiali e Discussioni* 38: 143–52
Di Tillio, Z. 1969. ‘Confronti formulari e lessicali tra le iscrizioni esametriche ed elegiache dal VII al V sec. a. C. e l’epos arcaico: I Iscrizioni sepolcrali’, *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 7: 45–73
Dover, K. J. 1974. *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*, Oxford
1993. *Aristophanes, Frogs*, Oxford
Drew-Bear, T. 1979. ‘A metrical epitaph from Phrygia’ in G. Bowersock, W. Burkert and M. Putnam eds., *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Berlin) 308–16
Dunant, C. 1978. ‘Stèles funéraires’ in *Etruria VI* (Berne) 21–61

Durbec, Y. and Trajber, F. eds. 2017. *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique*, Leuven

Ecker, U. 1990. *Grabmal und Epigramm*, Stuttgart

Edson, C. 1958. 'Imperium Macedonicum: the Seleucid empire and the literary evidence', *Classical Philology* 53: 153–70

Eliot, C. W. T. 1967. 'Where did the Alkmaionidai live?', *Historia* 16: 279–86

Fantuzzi, M. 2008. 'La doppia gloria di Menas (e di Filostrato)' in Morelli 2008: 603–22

2010. 'Typologies of variation on a theme in archaic and classical metrical inscriptions' in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 289–310

2020. *The Rhesus Attributed to Euripides*, Cambridge

Fantuzzi, M. and Hunter, R. 2004. *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*, Cambridge

Fantuzzi, M. and Sens, A. 2006. 'The hexameter of inscribed Hellenistic epigram' in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker eds., *Beyond the Canon* (Leuven) 105–22

Faraone, C. 2008. *The Stanzaic Architecture of Early Greek Elegy*, Oxford

Fedeli, P. 1983. *Catullus' Carmen 61*, Amsterdam

Ferrandini Troisi, F. and Cagnazzi, S. 2010. 'Il giovane Tettichos e le cicale d'oro degli Ateniesi', *Epigraphica* 62: 9–19

Feyel, M. 1955. 'Inscriptions inédites d'Akraiphia', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 79: 419–23

Fitzgerald, W. 2000. *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination*, Cambridge

Fitzler, K. 1910. *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten*, Leipzig

Floridi, L. 2014. *Lucillio: Epigrammi*, Berlin

Fogazza, G. 1971. 'Gorgo di Colofone, mitografo o biografo?', *Parola del Passato* 26: 128–9

Fraenkel, E. 1950. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, Oxford

Fraser, P. M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford

1977. *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, Oxford

Friedländer, P. 1942. 'A new epigram by Damagetus', *American Journal of Philology* 63: 78–82

Friedländer, P. and Hoffleit, H. B. 1948. *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse from the Beginnings to the Persian Wars*, Berkeley

Garland, R. 2001. *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd ed., London

Garulli, V. 2008a. 'L' *epigramma longum* nella tradizione epigrafica sepolcrale greca' in Morelli 2008: 623–62

2008b. 'La forte stirpe di Sarapione (*SGO* 05/01/52, 6)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 167: 17–21

2012. *Byblos Lainee: Epigrafia, letteratura, epitafio*, Bologna

2013. 'Greek acrostic verse inscriptions' in Kwapisz–Petrain–Szymanski 2013: 246–78

2014. 'Stones as books: the layout of Hellenistic inscribed poems' in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker eds., *Hellenistic Poetry in Context* (Leuven) 125–69

2016. 'Playing with language in everyday poetry: *hapax legomena* in inscribed funerary epigrams' in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 323–34

2017. 'Les derivés du nom d'Homère dans la tradition épigrammatique grecque' in Durbec–Trajber 2017: 141–56

2019. 'Lectional signs in Greek verse inscriptions' in Petrovic–Petrovic–Thomas 2019: 105–44

Gazis, G. A. 2018. *Homer and the Poetics of Hades*, Oxford

Ghiron-Bistagne, P. 1976. *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique*, Paris

Gigli Piccardi, D. 2003. 'Dioniso e lo schiavo etiope (*Inscr. métr.* no. 26 Bernand)' in D. Accorinti and P. Chuvin eds., *Des géants à Dionysos: Mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à Francis Vian* (Alessandria) 295–303

González González, M. 2013. 'CEG 587, μήτηρ καταλείβεται: Eurípides en una inscripción funeraria del s. IV A. C.', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 185: 61–2

2019. *Funerary Epigrams of Ancient Greece*, London

Goossens, R. 1934. 'Seuthès, fils d'Épimachos', *L'Antiquité Classique* 3: 91–6

1938. 'L'épitaphe de Seuthès et les "secondes funérailles" à Hermopolis', *Chronique d'Égypte* 26: 373–7

Gow, A. S. F. and Scholfield, A. F. 1953. *Nicander, The Poems and Poetical Fragments*, Cambridge

Graf, F. and Johnston, S. I. 2013. *Ritual texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets*, 2nd ed., London

Graindor, P. 1927. 'Inscriptions attiques d'époque romaine', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 51: 245–328

Grandinetti, P. 2002. 'Gli epigrammi della Grotta delle Vipere a Cagliari: confronti per l'assimilazione al mito', *L'Africa Romana* 14.3: 1757–69

Griffiths, J. G. 1970. *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge

Guarducci, M. 1934. 'Intorno all'epigramma cnosio di Tharsymachos', *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* 52: 71–5

1935. *Inscriptiones creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae* I, Rome

1939. *Inscriptiones creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae* II, Rome

1942. 'Le iscrizioni greche di Venezia', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 9: 7–53

1950. *Inscriptiones creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae* IV, Rome
Guijarro Ruano, P. 2018. 'À la recherché d'une langue poétique: les épigrammes préhellénistiques du Péloponnèse', *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 92: 103–35
Gutzwiller, K. J. 1998. *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*, Berkeley
2010. 'Heroic epitaphs of the classical age: the Aristotelian *Peplos* and beyond' in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 219–49
Haake, M. 2007. *Der Philosoph in der Stadt*, Munich
Hall, E. and Wyles, R. 2008. *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, Oxford
Hallof, K. and Stroszeck, J. 2002. 'Eine neue Schauspielerstele vom Kerameikos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 117: 115–31
Hanink, J. 2010. 'The epitaph for Atthis: a late Hellenistic poem on stone', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 130: 15–34
2017. 'Atthis epitaph' in Sider 2017: 3–7
Harder, A. 2012. *Callimachus, Aetia*, Oxford
Hardie, P. 2012. *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature*, Cambridge
Häusle, H. 1979. *Einfache und frühe Formen des griechischen Epigramms*, Innsbruck
Haussoullier, B. 1919. 'Bacchantes milésiennes', *Revue des études grecques* 32: 256–67
Headlam, W. 1922. *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments*, Cambridge
Heberdey, R. and Kalinka, E. 1896. *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Vienna
Henderson, J. 1987. *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*, Oxford
Hendriks, I., Parsons, P. J. and Worp, K. A. 1981. 'Papyri from the Groningen collection I: Encomium Alexandreae', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 41: 71–83
Hengel, M. 1977. *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*, Philadelphia
Henrichs, A. 1969. 'Die Maenaden von Milet', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 4: 223–41
1978. 'Greek maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82: 121–60
1983. 'The "sobriety" of Oedipus: Sophocles *OC* 100 misunderstood', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87: 87–100
Hepding, H. 1910. 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908–1909. II. Die Inschriften', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 35: 401–93

Heraeus, W. 1915. ‘ΠΡΟΠΕΙΝ’, *Rheinisches Museum* 70: 1–41
Hermann, P. 1998. *Inschriften von Milet, Teil 2*, Berlin
Herzog, R. 1923/4. ‘Der Traum des Herondas’, *Philologus* 79: 370–433
Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1908. ‘ΚΛΕΙΦΩΣΣΑ’, *Hermes* 43: 173–6
Hölbl, G. 2001. *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London
Hollis, A. 2004. ‘Hecale’s babies’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 148: 115–16
2011. ‘Greek letters from Hellenistic Bactria’ in D. Obbink and R. Rutherford eds., *Culture in Pieces* (Oxford) 104–18
Homolle, T. 1900. ‘Inscriptions de Delphes’, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 24: 170–8
Hopkins, K. 2018. *Sociological Studies in Roman History*, Cambridge
Hopkinson, N. 1982. ‘Juxtaposed prosodic variants in Greek and Latin poetry’, *Glotta* 60: 162–77
1984. *Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter*, Cambridge
Horrocks, G. 2010. *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd ed., Malden MA
Horsley, G. 2000. ‘Homer in Pisidia: aspects of the history of Greek education in a remote Roman province’, *Antichthon* 34: 46–81
Höschele, R. 2007. ‘The traveling reader: journeys through ancient epigram books’, *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 137: 333–69
2010. *Die blütenlesende Muse*, Tübingen
Howie, J. G. 1989. ‘The Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*: fable and territorial claim’, *Shadow* 6: 23–34
Humphreys, S. C. 1993. *The Family, Women and Death*, 2nd ed., Ann Arbor
Hunter, R. 1983. *Eubulus: The Fragments*, Cambridge
1992a. ‘Writing the god: form and meaning in Callimachus, *Hymn to Athena*’, *Materiali e Discussioni* 29: 9–34 [= Hunter 2008: 127–52]
1992b. ‘Callimachus and Heraclitus’, *Materiali e Discussioni* 28: 113–23 [= Hunter 2008: 115–26]
1993. *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies*, Cambridge
1999. *Theocritus: A Selection*, Cambridge
2003. *Theocritus, Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Berkeley
2008. *On Coming After: Studies in Post-Classical Greek Literature and its Reception*, Berlin
2010. ‘Language and interpretation in Greek epigram’ in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 265–88
2016. ‘A philosophical death?’ in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 269–78
2018. *The Measure of Homer*, Cambridge

2019. 'Death of a child: grief beyond the literary?' in Kanellou–Petrovic–Carey 2019: 137–53

2021. 'The poetics of Greek inscriptions' in B. Kayachev ed., *Poems without Poets* (Cambridge) 203–26

Hunter, V. J. 1994. *Policing Athens*, Princeton

Iakov, D. 2012. *Εὐριπίδης Ἄλκηστη*, Athens

Inglese, A. 2010a. 'ΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΜΑΝΥΕΙ ΤΟΔΕ (*IG* XII 3, 220)' in Inglese 2010b: 377–90

Inglese, A. ed. 2010b. *Epigrammata: Iscrizioni greche e communicazione letteraria in ricordo di Giancarlo Susini*, Rome

Jaccottet, A.-F. 2003. *Choisir Dionysos*, Zurich

Jeffery, L. H. 1962. 'The inscribed gravestones of archaic Attica', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 57: 115–53

1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 2nd ed., Oxford

Johnston, S. I. 1999. *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley

Jones, C. P. 2020. 'Epigraphica XVI–XXI', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 214: 33–40

Jouguet, P. 1911. *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, Paris

Kaczko, S. 2009. 'From stone to parchment: epigraphic and literary transmission of some Greek epigrams', *Trends in Classics* 1: 90–117

Kajanto, I. 1981. 'Fortuna', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.17.1 (Berlin) 502–58

Kakridis, J. 1952/3. 'Παρατηρήσεις σε ἀρχαία ἐπιγράμματα', *Hellenika* 12: 143–5

Kanellou, M., Petrovic, I. and Carey, C. eds. 2019. *Greek Epigram from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine Era*, Oxford

Kantzios, I. 2005. *The Trajectory of Archaic Greek Trimeters*, Leiden

Kassel, R. 1991. *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin

Kastriotes, P. 1903. 'Ποτάμων ὁ αὐλητής', *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 1903: 134–8

Kieseritzky, G. von and Watzinger, C. 1909. *Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland*, Berlin

Klaffenbach, G. 1935. 'Bericht über eine epigraphische Reise durch Mittelgriechenland und die Ionischen Inseln', *SB. Berlin* 1935: 691–726

Knoepfler, D. 2010. *La Patrie de Narcisse*, Paris

Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1991. 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern des Getty-Museums und der Sammlung Calm (Basel) mit Addenda zu Ch. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (Halle 1912)', *Greek Vases in the J.- Paul Getty Museum* 5:131–99

Kotsonas, A. 2018. 'Homer, the archaeology of Crete and the "tomb of Meriones" at Knossos', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 138: 1–35

Kraeling, C. H. 1962. *Ptolemais: City of the Libyan Pentapolis*, Chicago
Krevans, N. 2007. 'The arrangement of epigrams in collections' in Bing–Bruss 2007: 131–46
Kronenberg, L. 2018. 'Seeing the light: Aratus's interpretation of Homer's λευκή acrostic', *Dictynna* 15 (online)
Kwapisz, J., Petrain, D. and Szymanski, M. eds. 2013. *The Muse at Play: Riddles and Wordplay in Greek and Latin Poetry*, Berlin
Lada-Richards, I. 2007. *Silent Eloquence: Lucian and Pantomime Dancing*, London
Laemmle, R. 2019. 'Atalante *philandros*: teasing out satyric innuendo (Sophocles, fr. 1111 Radt = Hermogenes, *On Ideas* 2.5)', *Classical Quarterly* 69: 846–57
Lambert, S. D. 2010. 'A polis and its priests: Athenian priesthoods before and after Pericles' citizenship law', *Historia* 59: 143–75
Lane, E. N. 1988. 'ΠΑΣΤΟΣ', *Glotta* 66: 100–23
Langdon, M. 2015. 'Herders' graffiti' in A. Matthaiou and N. Papazarkadas eds., *ΑΞΩΝ: Studies in honor of Ronald S. Stroud* (Athens) I: 49–58
Lattimore, R. 1942. *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana IL
Latyschev, B. 1916. *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, 2nd ed., Petersburg
Lauffer, S. 1979. *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden
Launey, M. 1987. *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris
Lausberg, M. 1982. *Das Einzeldistichon*, Munich
Lavigne, D. 2019. 'The authority of archaic Greek epigram' in Petrovic–Petrovic–Thomas 2019: 169–86
Lebek, W. D. 1976. 'Kuss und Seelenhauch in einem griechischen Grabepigramm aus Spanien (λυπηρὸν μὲν ἔχει γόον κτλ.)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 22: 297–300
Le Bris, A. 2001. *La mort et les conceptions de l'au-delà en Grèce ancienne a travers les épigrammes funéraires*, Paris
Lefebvre, M. G. 1921. 'Deux inscriptions grecques du Fayoum', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 21: 163–8
Leo, G. M. 2014. 'Bernand, *Inscr. Metr.* 62.6 ΕΔΕΥΣΕ ΠΥΡΙ', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 189: 87–9
Lewis, D. M. 1955. 'Notes on Attic inscriptions (II)', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 50: 1–36
Liddel, P. and Low, P. eds. 2013. *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford
Lightfoot, J. 2007. *The Sibylline Oracles*, Oxford
2014. *Dionysius Periegetes: Description of the Known World*, Oxford
Lloyd-Jones, H. 1963. 'The Seal of Posidippus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 83: 75–99

Lorenz, B. 1976. *Thessalische Grabgedichte vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Innsbruck

Lorenz, K. 2010. '"Dialectics at a standstill": archaic *kouroi*-cum-epigram as I-Box' in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 131–48

Lougovaya, J. 2008. 'Euphranor of Rhamnous, aged 105, the most fortunate Athenian', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 48: 27–37

2011. 'The history of a motif in funerary epigrams from Karystos to the Phrygian hinterland' in *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace* (Toronto) 297–316

2013. 'Inscriptions on the Attic stage' in Liddel–Low 2013: 255–69

2016. 'Greek poetry in a post-Greek milieu: the epigram for Sophytos from Kandahar contextualised' in P. Sänger ed., *Minderheiten und Migration in der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Paderborn) 185–201

2019. '*Medici docti* in verse inscriptions' in N. Reggiani ed., *Greek Medical Papyri: Text, Context, Hypertext* (Berlin) 139–59

Lougovaya-Ast, J. 2006. 'Myrrhine, the first priestess of Athena Nike', *Phoenix* 60: 211–25

Lucas, A. 1931. '"Cedar"-tree products employed in mummification', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17: 13–21

1946. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3rd ed., London

Lumpp, H.-M. 1963. 'Die Arniadas-Inschrift aus Korkyra', *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 37: 212–15

Ma, J. 2005. 'The many lives of Eugnotos of Akraiphia', *Studi ellenistici* 16: 141–91

Magnelli, E. 2007a. '*Schema ionicum* in Dioniso di Magnesia (*GVI* 1871)?', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 163: 41–3

2007b. 'Meter and diction: from refinement to mannerism' in Bing–Bruss 2007: 165–83

Mairs, R. 2013. '*Sopha grammata*: acrostichs in Greek and Latin inscriptions from Arachosia, Nubia and Libya' in Kwapisz–Petrain–Szymanski 2013: 279–306

Marek, C. and Zingg, E. 2018. *Die Versinschrift des Hyssaldomos und die Inschriften von Uzunyuva (Milas/Mylasa)*, Bonn

Marginesu, G. 2002. 'Le iscrizioni greche della Sardegna', *L'Africa Romana* 14.3: 1807–25

Marshall, F. H. 1916. *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part* IV, *Section* II, Oxford

Martínez Fernández, A. 2006. *Epigramas helenísticos de Creta*, Madrid

ed., 2009. *Estudios de Epigrafía Griega*, La Laguna

Maxwell-Stuart, P. G. 1981. *Studies in Greek Colour Terminology*, Vol. II: *ΧΑΡΟΠΟΣ*, Leiden

Méautis, G. 1918. *Hermoupolis-la-Grande*, Lausanne

Merkelbach, R. 1972. 'Milesische Bakchen', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 9: 77–83

1973. 'Epigramm auf Lykophron von Pherai', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11: 156

Meyer, D. 2005. *Inszeniertes Lesevergnügen: Das inschriftliche Epigramm und seine Rezeption bei Kallimachos*, Stuttgart

Mickey, K. 1981. 'Dialect consciousness and literary language: an example from ancient Greek', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 79: 35–66

Millis, B. W. and Olson, S. D. 2012. *Inscriptional Records for the Dramatic Festivals in Athens*, Leiden

Montiglio, S. 2011. *From Hero to Villain: Odysseus in Ancient Thought*, Ann Arbor

Mordtmann, J. H. 1879. 'Metrische Inschriften aus Chalkedon Kyzikos Heraklea Pontica und Nikomedien', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 4: 11–21

Morel, W. 1930. 'Zu griechischen Inschriften', *Hermes* 65: 221–7

Morelli, A. M. ed. 2008. *Epigramma Longum* II, Cassino

Moretti, L. 1967. *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* I, Florence

1975. *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* II, Florence

Morris, I. 1992. *Death-ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge

Motte, A., and Pirenne-Delforge, V. 1992. 'Le mot et les rites. Aperçu des significations de ὄργια et de quelques dérivés', *Kernos* 5: 119–40

Müller, C. W. 1989. 'Der schöne Tod des Polisbürgers oder "Ehrenvoll ist es, für das Vaterland zu sterben"', *Gymnasium* 98: 317–40

Mutschmann, H. 1917/18. 'Ein unbekannter Mythograph', *Rheinisches Museum* 72: 150–3

Nagy, G. 1979. *The Best of the Achaeans*, Baltimore

Nervegna, S. 2013. *Menander in Antiquity: The Contexts of Reception*, Cambridge

Netz, R. 2020. *Scale, Space and Canon in Ancient Literary Culture*, Cambridge

Nielsen, T. H. et al. 1989. 'Athenian grave monuments and social class', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 30: 411–20

Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. 1970. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book* I, Oxford

Nisbet, R. G. M. and Rudd, N. 2004. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book* III, Oxford

Nock, A. D. 1972. *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford

Nollé, J. 2001. *Side im Altertum: Geschichte und Zeugnisse*, Vol. II, Bonn

Norden, E. 1913. *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*, Leipzig/Berlin

North, H. 1966. *Sophrosyne: Self-knowledge and Self-restraint in Greek Literature*, Ithaca NY

Oakley, J. H. and Sinos, R. H. 1993. *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, Madison WI

Obryk, M. 2012. *Unsterblichkeitsglaube in den griechischen Versinschriften*, Berlin

Oertel, F. 1917. *Die Liturgie: Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*, Leipzig

Oliviero, G. 1936. 'Iscrizioni di Tolemaide' in *Cirenaica* II (Rome) 243–58

Olson, S. D. 2018. 'χειρονομία and the *aulos*: how Hippocleides "danced away" his marriage', *Glotta* 94: 259–63

Osborne, R. 1988. 'Death revisited, death revised. The death of the artist in archaic and classical Greece', *Art History* 11: 1–16

Osborne, R. and Rhodes, P. J. 2017. *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC*, Oxford

Page, D. L. 1951. *A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge

1976. 'Five Hellenistic epitaphs in mixed metres', *Wiener Studien* 89: 165–76

1981. *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge

Palumbo Stracca, B. M. 1994. 'L'epitafio del pantomime Crispo', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 36: 225–33

Papademetriou, J. 1948/9. ''Αττικά I', *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 86/7: 146–53

Parke, H. W. 1985. *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London

Parker, L. P. E. 2007. *Euripides, Alcestis*, Oxford

Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford

2005. *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford

Parker, R. and Stamatopoulou, M. 2004. 'A new funerary gold leaf from Pherai', *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 143: 1–32

Paton, W. R. and Hicks, E. L. 1891. *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford

Pearce, T. E. V. 1983. 'The tomb by the sea: the history of a motif', *Latomus* 42: 110–15

Peek, W. 1932. 'Griechische Epigramme II', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 57: 46–66

1956. 'ΔΙΑ ΑΡΕΤΑ. Ein griechisches Epigramm aus Istros', *Studii si cercetari de istorie veche* 7: 199–206

1960. *Griechische Grabgedichte*, Berlin

1971. 'Milesische Versinschriften', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 7: 193–226

1974. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften aus Thessalien*, Heidelberg

Perdrizet, P. 1900. 'Inscriptions d'Acraephiae', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 24: 70–81

1934. 'Le mort qui sentait bon' in *Mélanges Bidez* (Brussels) 719–27
Peres, I. 2003. *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie*, Tübingen
Petrovic, A. 2007. *Kommentar zu den simonideischen Versinschriften*, Leiden
2013. 'Inscribed epigrams in orators and epigrammatic collections' in Liddel–Low 2013: 197–211
2016. 'Casualty lists in performance. Name catalogues and Greek verse-inscriptions' in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 361–90
Petrovic, A., Petrovic, I. and Thomas, E. eds. 2019. *The Materiality of Text: Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden
Pettersson, M. 1992. *Cults of Apollo at Sparta: The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaidiai and the Karneia*, Stockholm
Petzl, G. 1987. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, II.1, Bonn
Pickard-Cambridge, A. 1968. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. rev. by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford
Pircher, J. 1979. *Das Lob der Frau im vorchristlichen Grabepigramm der Griechen*, Innsbruck
Pleket, H. W. 1958. *The Greek Inscriptions in the 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden' at Leyden*, Leiden
Poland, W. C. 1897. 'A sepulchral inscription from Athens', *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 6: 357–63
Polunin, O. and Huxley, A. 1965. *Flowers of the Mediterranean*, London
Pritchett, W. K. 1974. *The Greek State at War*, Vol. II, Berkeley
Raffeiner, H. 1977. *Sklaven und Freigelassene: Eine soziologische Studie auf der Grundlage des griechischen Grabepigramms*, Innsbruck
Rahn, P. J. 1986. 'Funeral memorials of the first priestess of Athena Nike', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 81: 195–207
Reinach, T. 1903. 'Inscriptions grecques', *Revue des études grecques* 16: 180–92
Reitzenstein, R. 1893. *Epigramm und Skolion*, Giessen
Renehan, R. 1976. *Studies in Greek Texts*, Göttingen
Rengakos, A. 1994. *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung*, Munich
Richardson, N. 1974. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford
Richter, G. M. A. 1960. *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths*, London
1961. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London
Rijksbaron, A. 2007. *Plato, Ion or: On the Iliad*, Leiden
Robert, J. and Robert, L. 1983. *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, Paris
Robert, L. 1937. *Études anatoliennes*, Paris
1938. *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris

1944. 'Sur une épitaphie chrétienne de Phrygie. ΒΛΕΠΕ', *Revue de Philologie* 70: 53–6
1946. *Hellenica*, Vol. II, Paris
1948. *Hellenica*, Vol. IV, Paris
1960. *Hellenica*, Vols. XI–XII, Paris
1963. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* I, Paris
1965. *Hellenica*, Vol. XIII, Paris
1969. *Opera Minora Selecta* I, Amsterdam
1989. *Opera Minora Selecta* V, Amsterdam
Robinson, D. M. 1923. 'Two new epitaphs from Sardis' in Buckler–Calder 1923: 341–53
Robinson, D. M., Stevens G. P. and Vanderpool E. 1949. 'An inscribed *kouros* base' in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (Athens) 361–4
Rohland, R. forthcoming. *Carpe diem: The Poetics of Presence in Greek and Latin Literature*, Cambridge
Rossi, L. 1999. 'Lamentazioni su pietra e letteratura "trenodici": motivi tipici dei canti funerari', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126: 29–42
2001. *The Epigrams ascribed to Theocritus: a Method of Approach*, Leuven
Rouse, W. H. D. 1906. 'Inscriptions from Astypalaea', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 26: 178
Rowlandson, J. ed. 1998. *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: a Sourcebook*, Cambridge
Rutherford, I. 2000. 'The genealogy of the *Boukoloi*: how Greek literature appropriated an Egyptian narrative-motif', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 120: 106–21
Rutherford, W. G. 1881. *The New Phrynichus*, London
Sacco, G. 1978. 'Lethe negli epigrammi funerari', *Epigraphica* 40: 40–52
Şahin, S. 1975. 'Das Grabmal des Pantomimen Krispos in Herakleia Pontike', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 18: 293–7
Santin, E. 2009. *Autori di epigrammi sepolcrali greci su pietra: Firme di poeti occasionali e professionisti*, Rome
Schachter, A. 1986. *Cults of Boiotia* 2, London
Schironi, F. 2018. *The Best of the Grammarians: Aristarchus of Samothrace on the Iliad*, Ann Arbor
Schirripa, P. 2010. 'Frammenti di vita e volti di donna negli epigrammi funerari greci', in Inglese 2010b: 151–80
Schmidt, C. 1897. 'Eine griechische Grabinschrift aus Antinoë' in *Aegyptiaca: Festschrift für Georg Ebers zum 1. März 1897* (Leipzig) 99–106

Schmidt, M. 1976. *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers und zur Kultur der Heroenzeit in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias*, Munich
Schmidt, V. 1968. *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, Berlin
Schwertheim, E. 1980. *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung* I, Bonn
Segre, M. 1941. 'Epigramma sepolcrale', *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 34: 27–9
Sens, A. 2004. 'Doricisms in the new and old Posidippus' in B. Acosta-Hughes, E. Kosmetatou and M. Baumbach eds., *Labored in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection attributed to Posidippus (P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII *309)* (Washington DC) 65–83
2006. 'Epigram at the margins of pastoral' in M. Fantuzzi and T. Papanghelis eds., *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* (Leiden) 147–65
2007. 'One thing leads (back) to another: allusion and the invention of tradition in Hellenistic epigrams' in Bing–Bruss 2007: 373–90
2011. *Asclepiades of Samos*, Oxford
2020. *Hellenistic Epigrams: A Selection*, Cambridge
Sider, D. ed. 2017. *Hellenistic Poetry: A Selection*, Ann Arbor
Sigalas, C. and Matthaiou, A. 1992–8. 'Ἐπιγραφὲς Θήρας', *Horos* 10–12: 385–402
Silk, M. S. 1983. 'LSJ and the problem of poetic archaism: from meanings to iconyms', *Classical Quarterly* 33: 303–30
Sistakou, E. and Rengakos, A. eds. 2016. *Dialect, Diction, and Style in Greek Literary and Inscribed Epigram*, Berlin
Skiadas, A. D. 1967. *Ἐπὶ τύμβῳ*, Athens
Smith, C. and Rustafjaell, R. 1902. 'Inscriptions from Cyzicus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 22: 190–207
Snowden, F. M. 1983. *Before Color Prejudice*, Cambridge MA
1991. 'Asclepiades' Didyme', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 32: 239–53
Sokolowski, F. 1955. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris
1969. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris
Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1995. *'Reading' Greek Death, to the End of the Classical Period*, Oxford
Spivey, N. 2018. *The Sarpedon Krater*, London
Squire, M. 2009. *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Cambridge
Staab, G. 2012. 'Grabsteine aus Lykien mit neuen metrischen Inschriften', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 45: 38–46
Stafford, E. 2000. *Worshipping Virtues: Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece*, London

Stefanis, I. E. 1988. *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται*, Heraklion
Steiner, D. T. 2001. *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought*, Princeton
2010. *Homer, Odyssey Books* XVII *and* XVIII, Cambridge
2012. 'Drowning sorrows: Archilochus fr. 13 W. in its performance context', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52: 21–56
Stengel, P. 1910. *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Leipzig/Berlin
Stewart, A. 1976. 'Aristion', *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 9: 257–62
1997. *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge
Stieber, M. 1998. 'Statuary in Euripides' "Alcestis"', *Arion* 5: 69–97
Strasser, J.-Y. 2004. 'Inscriptions grecques et latines en l'honneur de pantomimes', *Tyche* 19: 175–212
Suter, A. 2008. 'Male lament in Greek tragedy', in A. Suter ed., *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond* (Oxford) 156–80
Svenbro, J. 1988. *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*, Ithaca NY
Swift, L. 2010. *The Hidden Chorus: Echoes of Genre in Tragic Lyric*, Oxford
Szempruch, B. 2019. 'Literary commemoration in imperial Greek epigram: Niobe in the living landscape (*SGO* 05/01/55)', *American Journal of Philology* 140: 227–53
Tarán, S. L. 1979. *The Art of Variation in the Hellenistic Epigram*, Leiden
Tentori Montalto, M. 2009. 'L'epigramma di Olimpico e Potamon e la scuola tebana degli auleti', *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 93: 151–60
Teodorsson, S.-T. 1996. *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks*, III: *Books 7–9*, Göteborg
Thompson, D. W. 1936. *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 2nd ed., London
Thonemann, P. 2020. 'Lysimache and *Lysistrata*', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 140: 128–42
Threatte, L. 1980. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Vol. I: *Phonology*, Berlin
1996. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Vol. II: *Morphology*, Berlin
Tod, M. N. 1951. 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 46: 182–90
Tracy, S. V. 1990. *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.*, Berkeley
2016. *Athenian Lettering of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Berlin
Tsagalis, C. 2008. *Inscribing Sorrow: Fourth-Century Attic Funerary Epigrams*, Berlin
Tueller, M. A. 2008. *Look Who's Talking: Innovations in Voice and Identity in Hellenistic Epigram*, Leuven
2016. 'Words for dying in sepulchral epigram' in Sistakou–Rengakos 2016: 215–33

Turner, S. 2016. ‘Sight and death. Seeing the dead through ancient eyes’ in M. Squire ed., *Sight and the Ancient Senses* (London) 143–60
Vérilhac, A.-M. 1978. ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΑΩΡΟΙ. *Poésie funéraire* I, Athens
1982. *ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΑΩΡΟΙ: Poésie funéraire* II, Athens
1985. ‘L’image de la femme dans les épigrammes funéraires grecques’ in *La femme dans le monde méditerranéen*, I: *Antiquité* (Lyon) 85–112
Vérilhac, A.-M. and Vial, C. 1998. *Le mariage grec du VIe siècle av. J.-C. à l’époque d’Auguste*, Athens
Vermeule, E. 1979. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley
Vestrheim, G. 2010. ‘Voice in sepulchral epigrams: some remarks on the use of the first and second person in sepulchral epigrams, and a comparison with lyric poetry’ in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 61–78
Vogliano, A. 1953. ‘Κρητικά’, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 7: 75–91
Wachter, R. 2010. ‘The origin of epigrams on “speaking objects”’ in Baumbach–Petrovic–Petrovic 2010a: 250–60
Wakker, G. C. 1994. *Conditions and Conditionals*, Amsterdam
Wallace, M. B. 1984. ‘The metres of early Greek epigram’ in D. E. Gerber ed., *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury* (Chico CA) 303–17
Walsh, G. B. 1991. ‘Callimachean passages: the rhetoric of epitaph in epigram’, *Arethusa* 24: 77–105
Wankel, H. 1983. ‘“Alle Menschen müssen sterben”. Variation eines Topos der griechischen Literatur’, *Hermes* 111: 129–54
Webb, R. 2017. ‘Reperformance and embodied knowledge in Roman pantomime’ in R. Hunter and A. Uhlig eds., *Imagining Reperformance in Ancient Culture* (Cambridge) 262–79
Welcker, F. 1828. *Sylloge epigrammatum graecorum*, Bonn
Werbrouck, M. 1938. *Les pleureuses dans l’Égypte ancienne*, Brussels
West, M. L. 1982. *Greek Metre*, Oxford
1992. *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford
West, S. 2003. ‘“The most marvellous of all seas”: the Greek encounter with the Euxine’, *Greece & Rome* 50: 151–67
Wide, S. 1893. *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig
Wilamowitz, U. von. 1924a. *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, Berlin
1924b. Review of Buckler–Calder 1923, *Litteris* 1: 3–15
1928. ‘Lesefrüchte’, *Hermes* 63: 369–90
Wilhelm, A. 1909. ‘Epigramm aus Imbros’, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 52: 1646
1928. ‘Τροφός’, *Glotta* 16: 274–9
1934. ‘Untersuchungen zu Xenophons Πόροι’, *Wiener Studien* 52: 18–56

1936. ‘ΑΠΟΦΟΡΑ’, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*: 56–64

1946. ‘ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΚΑ’, *SB. Wien* 224: 5–80

1950. *Griechische Epigramme aus Kreta*, Oslo

1974. *Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde (1895–1951)*, Leipzig

1978. ‘Bemerkungen zu den attischen Grabinschriften I.G.II²’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 29: 57–90

1980. *Griechische Epigramme*, Bonn

Wilson, P. 2007. ‘Pronomos and Potamon: two pipers and two epigrams’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 127: 141–9

Woodhead, A. G. 1959. *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge

Wypustek, A. 2013. *Images of Eternal Beauty in Funerary Vase Inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Periods*, Leiden

2014. ‘Orphic elements in Greek funerary verse-inscriptions’ *Littera Antiqua* 9: 119–41

Young, D. C. 1983. ‘Pindar *Pythians* 2 and 3: inscriptional ποτέ and the “poetic epistle”’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87: 31–48

Ypsilanti, M. 2018. *The Epigrams of Crinagoras of Mytilene*, Oxford

Zimmerman, C. 1994. *The Pastoral Narcissus: A Study of the First Idyll of Theocritus*, Lanham MD

Zingerle, J. 1931. ‘Lexikalische Beiträge’, *Glotta* 19: 72–85

Zucca, R. 1992. ‘Il complesso epigrafico rupestre della “Grotta delle Vipere”’ in L. Gasperini ed., *Rupes loquentes: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia* (Rome) 503–40

Zucker, F. 1938. *Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Hermopolis Magna*, Berlin

1954. ‘Grabgedicht aus Herakleopolis’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40: 118–23

Zumin, A. M. 1975. ‘Echi euripidei nell’epigrammatica greca’ in *Studi triestini di antichità in onore di Luigia Achillea Stella* (Trieste) 357–77

CONCORDANCES

Bernand	*This volume*
4	XXXII
26	XLV
30	LX
33	LXX
34	LXIV
62	XV
83	LXII
97	XL

CEG	*This volume*
13	II
24	XLIX
27	IV
28	III
93	LI
97	LII
102	VI
123	V
145	I
161	L
167	LIII
509	VII
526	LVIII
530	LVI
550	IX
568	X
572	XI
573	LV
587	LVII
627	VIII
680	LIV

CII	*This volume*
84	XXXIII

GVI	*This volume*
68	XLIX
73	I
77	V
97	LIII
164	L
632	XX
639	XLVI
658	XLVII
661	XXIV
681	XXXIX
749	XVII
764	XXXI
836	XI
874	XXXVIII
894	VII
922	XVI
945	XXI
947	LXVII
1098	XLI
1120	XVIII
1127	LIX
1128	LXI
1129	XXVII
1149	XXXII
1167	XLV
1179	XXII
1224	III
1225	IV
1226	II
1312	LXIV
1344	LXIII
1353	LX
1363	LXIX
1387	LVI
1415	LII
1420	XXX
1495	IX
1512	LXVI
1513	XXIII
1516	XXV
1536	LXV
1545	LXIII
1551	LXXI
1564	VI
1595	LXXVIII
1603	XII
1680	LXII
1684	LXXVI
1698	X
1729	XXVI
1745	XIV
1765	XLII
1804	XXXIV
1810	LV
1820	LVII
1827	XV
1830	LXXXI
1832	XIX

1871	LXXVII
1873	LXX
1874	LXVIII
1912	LIV
1920	LXXII
1923	XXXVII
1938	LXXV
1961	LI
1975	XL
1985	LVIII
1988	XXVIII
1993	LXXIX
2005	LXXIV

IGUR	*This volume*
III 1146	LXXXI
III 1234	XLVII
III 1305	LXXV
III 1344	LXXVIII

IK	*This volume*
2.304	XXVII
18.518	XXXVII
20.32	XXIX
23.512	XIV
23.513	XXII
23.520	LXVI
23.522	XXXVIII
23.539	XLII
23.549	LXXIII
29.79	XXIV
41.303	LXVIII
47.9	XLIII
49.81	XXXIV
53.90	XLI

SEG	*This volume*
4.633	LIX
28.528	XIII
45.641	LXXX
48.1067	XLVIII
53.1805	XXXV
54.1568	XXXIII
59.1318	XXXVI

SGO	*This volume*
01/20/21	LXIII
01/20/38	LXV
02/03/01	XVIII
02/14/11	XXXIV
03/05/02	XXXI
03/06/07	LXXI
03/07/17	XXVII
04/05/07	LXXIX
05/01/36	XXXVIII
05/01/42	XIV
05/01/50	XXII
05/01/52	LXVI
05/01/55	LXXIII
05/01/64	XLII
07/05/04	XLI
08/01/51	XXXVII
09/01/03	XXIV
09/07/09	XXIX
09/11/02	XLIII
17/19/01	XLIV

INDEXES

GENERAL INDEX

INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED

Inscriptions included in this volume are not listed here; see Concordances.